National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

FREEDMEN SUFFRAGE NO PARTY ISSUE.

From the N. Y. Times.

THE political bankrupts of the late rebellion, again turned fortune-hunters, are straining every nerve to make something out of the question of negro suffrage. They insist that it shall be a party test, in spite of the fact that the Union Conventions in all the great States, without exception, have declined to make it such. They will have it that the approaching State elections must be decided on that issue, and that they alone are on the right side of it. The pretence is ridiculous; and but for their hard straits, we would say contemptible.

In the very nature of the case, a practical issue, pure and simple, cannot possibly be made on this subject. There can be *no such* naked question as, Shall or shall not the colored people of the South vote? no more than formerly there could be the naked practical question, Shall or shall not the colored people of the South be free? Many other questions are necessarily involved with it, especially in connection with the paramount necessity of preserving our constitutional system. The majority of the Northern people would have been in favor of negro freedom on the abstract proposition; and yet were not in favor of action by the Federal Government to secure that end. So the majority of the Northern people may be in favor of negro suffrage, considered *per se;* and yet, are not in favor of an attempt by the Federal Government to establish it. President Johnson, himself, if what is said of him is true, would be pleased if the people of the Southern States would establish electoral qualifications, independent of all distinction of color; and yet he evinces no purpose of using the Federal power to compel them to do so. The great majority of the party which elected him, whatever they may think of the intrinsic desirableness of freedmen suffrage, sustain him in this as in all his other executive policy. Until he changes, and they change with him, it will be impossible for the Copperheads of the late rebellion to make any issue out of the subject, practical enough for the people to carry to the ballot-box.

The great difficulty is not in deciding that a particular color ought not of itself to exclude from the elective franchise, but how to make such a decison particularly operative in the South, where not one white man in forty would agree with it. Supposing that President Johnson, in initiating reconstruction, instead of proceeding as he did consistently upon the principle that the Southern States had never been out of the Union, and that their old electoral laws were still in force, except as to the unpardoned rebels, had prescribed that the liberated slaves should also vote for delegates to the conventions, what would it have availed? The conventions themselves would have none the less consisted of white men, and would have given their constitutions just the shape they are now giving them, without making any provision for colored suffrage; and the elections under these constitutions would have been conducted, as they are to be now, by the white element exclusively. Nothing would have been made in favor of the freedmen by any such action on the part of the President. But is it said that Congress must exclude all members from the Southern States at whose elections the blacks are excluded from voting? Congress has no constitutional power to fix the qualifications of electors in the various States. The assumption of such a power would be the destruction of the whole scheme of our Federal Government—an absolute conversion of it into a consolidated omnipotent rule. Again, it would be a monstrous and intolerable inconsistency for the present Congress, three-fourths of whose members were elected under laws which exclude negro suffrage, to debar the members elect from the Southern States because they were similarly elected. But supposing this bold business done by Congress, and the Southern members excluded until their States had framed constitutions and laws which gave the freedmen the suffrage, it would avail nothing. Constitutions and laws are alterable; and, even though they might be so shaped as to meet the requirements of Congress and secure the readmission of Southern representatives, when the object was once gained, the whites of the Southern States, no longer under duress, might and would change their constitutions and laws to suit themselves. Freedmen suffrage could not prevent this, because in nearly every Southern State the majority of male adults are white men, and in all the Legislatures are sure to consist of white men. The white Legislatures would have no difficulty at any time in altering the election laws so as to disfranchise the freedmen; or in convoking new constitutional conventions if their help were needed. Even, then, were it admitted that in view of the present peculiar and anomalous relations of the General Government to the lately rebellious Southern people, the President and Congress could assume the power of preventing negro suffrage in the work of restoration, its effect would be limited to the time when the restoration was fully consummated. After that, the Southern whites would control the matter as they pleased.

Therefore we say that the question of negro suffrage in the Southern States is not, and cannot be made, a practical political issue in the North. The Southern people alone must determine it. We can, if we like, urge upon them by argument, the justice and the expediency of granting the franchise without distinction of color, but that is moral suasion, not party action. The question cannot be made for us a political question, simply because we have no political power in the premises to make any *substantial* settlement of it. That power resides solely in the States directly concerned. Debate or devise as we please, we all have to come to that in the end.

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CONVENTION.

From the N. Y. Daily News.

THE very important proceedings of this Convention (of which we publish a full report this morning) will be read with interest by every one. The part which will naturally attract the most attention, at this time, is the unanimous endorsement by the Convention of the sentiments expressed by Bishop Potter as to the return of peace, and the state of the church in the Southern dioceses. And every one who has at heart the restoration of that good-will, which *is* peace, will rejoice in the Christian charity, and gentleness and love, to which the Bishop of New York has, with the full concurrence of all his dioceses, given such eloquent utterance.

Words thus spoken and thus confirmed will not fail to reach the inmost heart of every member of the Episcopal Church in the North as well as in the South, and will tend irresistibly to that perfect reunion of their church, which they all heartily desire and earnestly pray for. All who shall read the Bishop's address (and every one will read this part of it at least) will observe the manly frankness with which he seeks to remove the chief, nay only, obstacles in the way of the reunion of the Church, by declaring that not *only will the Southern delegates be received into the General Convention without a word of reproach, but the election of the Bishop of Alabama and the creation of the Diocese of Arkansas, and the election thereto of bishop, will be accepted by that body as valid and proper acts.*

Of the sincerity and good faith with which the Bishop and the Convention made these declarations, a striking proof was furnished yesterday by the reception which the *Convention gave to the Reverend Doctor Quintard, the newly elected Bishop of Tennessee, a gentleman who served throughout the war as a chaplain in the Confederate Army.* These things will go to confirm the Bishop's prediction that the reunion of the Church will arouse the tenderest sensibilites of every heart and be full of celestial harmony.

Selections.

FREE LABOR IN JAMAICA.

[It has always been insisted that the slaves of the Southern States were far superior to the colored population of any other country, even though it was denied at the same time that they were capable of being entrusted with the care of their own bodies or souls. To those who hold or held either or both those opinions, the following from the New York *Tribune* is particularly commended.]

THOSE of our friends who imagine that the negro cannot work when free, nor unless goaded by the lash, should read the lesson furnished by Jamaica. This island is by far the most important English Colony in the Caribbean Sea, and has a black population, according to the census taken four years ago, of 346,000, being nearly one-half the entire negro population of the British West Indies. The same census returned the brown population, or the people of mixed European and African blood, at 81,000, and the whites at 14,000—we quote in round numbers. From these figures it will be seen that the blacks form 79 per cent. of the population of Jamaica; the mixed race 18 per cent., and the whites, 3 per cent. Of the former, about 30,000 are resident in the several towns throughout the island, and about the same number are employed as laborers upon the 300 sugar estates that are still in cultivation. The others live upon small settlements of their own, which they cultivate, and out of the products of which they live. These homesteads have all been purchased since the emancipation. The public records show that there are about 80,000 of these, averaging at least three acres apiece. Here, then, are 240,000 acres of land owned by the emancipated blacks, nearly all of it in cultivation either in coffee, sugar-cane, ginger, arrow-root or ground provisions. Each settlement, of course, has its cottage, some of them rude structures enough, but a large number neat and comfortable dwellings. At the lowest computation, the money value of these settlements, at the present prices of land in Jamaica, cannot be less than £5 sterling ($25) per acre, which for 240,000 acres gives the sum of six millions of dollars. The cottage furniture, and other movables of this peasant proprietary, may be safely estimated at one-third at least of this sum, which is two millions of dollars more. Then a large majority of the settlers own one or two—sometimes three—horses or brood mares or mules; but assuming that only half of the eighty thousand own one such animal each, and fixing the price of fifty dollars a head, we have another two millions of dollars in working and breeding stock. Besides this they own among them at least four thousand carts, drays and donkeys, and pigs without number. Thus, then, it appears that in a little over a quarter of a century the blacks of Jamaica, commencing with nothing, have become the owners of property in houses, lands, live stock, etc., amounting in value to over ten millions of dollars. But this is not all. Since the emancipation, in seven parishes out of the twenty-two into which the island is divided, savings banks have been established, one in each parish, and most of them only within the last ten years; and from late returns we find that the deposits of the people in these few institutions already amount to close upon half a million of dollars. Some of the largest and most populous parishes are still without savings banks; but judging from what has been accomplished in the direction, there can be no doubt that had such institutions been established in every parish years ago, they would have by this time represented another two millions of dollars to the credit of the negroes.

So much for the creation of wealth. Let us look now at another phase of the subject, which will be found hardly, if at all, less important than the foregoing facts. The public revenue of the island of Jamaica amounts, in round numbers, to £280,000 per annum, a sum equivalent to $1,400,000 in gold. This revenue is raised partly by direct and partly by indirect taxation, but principally by the latter, the direct taxation not amounting to more than $125,000 of the whole sum. Of the direct taxes the large estates contribute about $80,000, and the balance is paid by the small settlers. The other and principal portion of the revenue is derived from import and excise duties upon articles largely consumed by the blacks. On the lowest estimate, at least three-fourths of the dutiable articles are absorbed by the negro population, who consequently pay that same proportion of the revenue derived from the indirect taxes. Or, taking a poll of the entire population, the taxation will be found to be something over three dollars a head per annum, and supposing that the blacks in proportion to the other two classes pay no more than their fair share of taxes, according to numbers, then it follows that they contribute over $1,000,000 annually towards the support of the Government. Besides this, there is a separate tax, in the shape of duties on wheels, horses, mules and asses, levied for keeping the public roads in repair; and under this head their contributions amount to at least another million a year.

There is another interesting class of figures which demands notice. We refer to the church statistics of the country. Recently prepared tabular returns show that there are in Jamaica, beside the clergymen of the Anglo-Jamaican Episcopal Church, whose stipends are paid out of the public Treasury, about 120 ministers of different denominations supported on the voluntary principle. Some of these ministers being still in connection with missionary associations in England, a portion of the funds for their support is drawn from that country; but from a careful examination of figures to which we have access we find that the contributions of the native churches, consisting almost entirely of blacks, amount at the very lowest to an average of $750 per annum for each minister—none of whom, it may be here stated, receives a salary of less than $500 a year. Beside this, the negroes subscribe considerable sums to keep the churches in repair. Since emancipation, over 200 of these have been erected in all parts of the country, among them several substantial and elegant structures, costing from $5,000 to $15,000 each for building; and fully one-half of all the money spent in this direction has been raised among the blacks. The voluntary contributions of these people for the purpose of building and keeping in repair churches and ministers' residences has not amouted during the last 27 years to one cent less than $250,000.

There is one class more of statistics, which, as throwing light upon the question before us, claims consideration. We refer to the staple products of the island. It is true that there has been a considerable falling off in these since emancipation; but this is not attributable to the alleged indolence of the black people, but to the abandonment of estates, either from the effects of the mischievous policy of coercion adopted toward the freedmen in the first instance, already referred to, or to the want of capital for working the estates, or to faulty management, or to the fiscal policy of the Imperial Government in admitting the produce of slave labor into the British markets on equal terms with the produce of the free colonies of the Empire. Some estates were abandoned from one cause, and some from another; but no single case exists, to our knowledge, in which cultivation has been abandoned because the free negroes could not be got to work. It is a fact, that at the period of emancipation the majority of the Jamaica sugar estates were burdened with heavy mortgages. Many of them, indeed, were mortgaged to the extent of double their value. When freedom was given to the slaves the mortgagees took care to secure themselves to some extent, by laying hold of the compensation money that had been voted by Parliament as an indemnity to the slaveholders; but many of the proprietors were still left deeply in debt, and in the uncertainty of the times, arising from the social revolution which the experiment of emancipation had brought about in the British West Indies, they found themselves unable to raise sufficient means for sustaining cultivation. Thus many of them had no alternative but to abandon their estates; and in other cases in which judicious and economical management, adapted to the new order of things, might have enabled the late slaveowners to weather the storm, an obstinate and foolhardy adherence to the old wasteful and coercive system that was pursued during slavery, speedily brought ruin to their doors. Then came Free Trade, striking down forever the monopoly which the West Indies had for a long time enjoyed, and leaving the Jamaica planter, dependent entirely upon free labor, to compete with his Cuban rival, who was able to recruit his labor force with continual accessions of slaves from the baracoons of Western Africa. But in spite of all these untoward circumstances, over 300 sugar estates still remain in cultivation, most of them being properties in districts favorably situated as regards soil and supply of water, and in the hands of resident proprietors or lessees, or managed for absentees on improved and economical principles. Until within the last two years, during which time the island has suffered severely from a protracted drouth, the staple products were steadily increasing year by year. Jamaica now exports annually about 30,000 tuns of sugar, 20,000 puncheons of rum, 7,000,000 lbs. of coffee, nearly 1,000,000 lbs. of ginger, and 5,000,000 lbs. of pimento, beside a considerable quantity of dyewoods and hardwood, arrowroot, and honey and beeswax. All this represents the industry of the blacks, for as a rule the negroes are the only agricultural laborers in the country. But in addition to the exports, they raise large quantities of ground provisions and other articles of domestic consumption. All the sugar and all the coffee consumed on the island are produced by them. They grow tobacco; they raise pigs and poultry; and they supply the markets all over the island with fully nine-tenths of the vegetables sold in them. And by none is the fact more deeply deplored than by them, that there is not sufficient capital in the country to give that continuous employment for wages which large numbers of them would be glad to find. At public meetings recently held in the island to take into consideration the condition of the country, they have unanimously passed resolutions to this effect.

LOYALTY OF SOUTHERN METHODISM.

[The Southern *Christian Advocate*, published in Macon, Ga., and edited by Rev. E. H. Myers, D.D., gives us in its issue of the 7th ult. illustration and illumination of the *sworn Southern religious* loyalty to the Government, or to what the South understands to be government under the Presidential clemency, as follows:]

"THOSE, who have heretofore been known in the North emphatically as 'rebels,' are the citizens—Methodist citizens we will say, of whom we now write. We feel certain that we know more of their sentiments, whether clergy or laity, than any Northern editor or politician—wizard or clairvoyant—can know: and we speak understandingly when we say, that they are resolved to act in perfect good faith in their efforts to restore a *Constitutional Union.* And they will do so, if not driven to desperation, by the insults, outrage, and bad faith of those who are striving now to obstruct the pacification of the country. True, a vast majority of these citizens in 1861, did, as they asserted for self protection, and without any purpose of aggression, frame another government than that they had lived under. Their Northern fellow-citizens came with arms, to make them surrender their Constitution and to restore that they had repudiated. The Southern people resisted manfully, but the Yankees and Germans, the Irish and the negroes, were too strong for them; and, in the end, the generals surrendered their armies. They *know* certainly that they are whipped—but sometimes boast that they first gave the best fight they could with a feeble handful against more than 1,000,000 soldiers. When their leaders had succumbed before vast odds in numbers and resources—overwhelmed and beaten, but not disgraced—the great mass of Southern citizens felt that they must yield to circumstances, and that it would be utter madness to essay longer to maintain the constitution and government to which their preference was given. They, therefore, propose now, *in good faith,* to yield their allegiance to that Constitution which was so forcibly pressed upon them for four years, the Constitution of the old Union. They once lived under it, and their efforts to frame another having hopelessly failed, they expect to live under it again, peaceably—obediently—'loyally,' and under it to find that protection to life, liberty and property which it guarantees to the humblest citizen. To bring them to this, they suppose was the only purpose—and it was so proclaimed from 'Dan to Beersheba,' that the United States Government had, when the 'Union as it was' was pressed upon them at the point of the bayonet.

"The bayonet triumphed, and President Johnson offered to the great majority of our citizens amnesty (oblivion) for the past, on condition that they would take an oath 'faithfully to defend the Constitution of the United States, and *the Union of the States there under.*' Our Southern citizens (Methodists and others not excepted in the proclamation,) have taken or will take this oath, and faithfully keep it without one thought of violating it. The honest truth is, that having failed to establish an independent government, their chief desire now is, to secure a place in that other 'Union under the Constitution,' so long and so urgently proffered them. They believe that the authorities at Washington are disposed to open the way for such return to the Union; though it is well known here that pragmatical religionists at the North are making mighty efforts to obstruct the Government in carrying out any wise, just or humane purposes—that the Christian creed of some—growing perhaps rapidly into a condition of Church membership,—is, that the Northern States are the Union, and the Southern States dependencies or territories which should be taxed but ought not to be represented—that there is nobody here but guerillas, robbers, house-burners, and that every miserable sinner among us is only waiting for the withdrawal of the United States troops to rise in armed rebellion, and to march straightway into the North, there to burn, ravage, slay, destroy, devastate, ruin the people, and overturn the 'best Government under the sun.'

"Fearful of such dire calamity, these worshippers find their idol, in the idea of keeping up a perpetual military rule here, lest these terrible plunderers should at once inaugurate a carnival of ruin. Their gospel adds, that we are to be *governed thoroughly,* in buying and selling, in hiring and renting, in sowing and harvesting, in thinking and speaking, in voting and legislating, in living and dying, and if we should perchance die out of the pale of the Union church, the privilege of resurrection will be denied to our bodies by these regulators of the universe, unless on conditions they set. In a word, their creed is, 'embrace the negro, and use him to humiliate the white man,'—their animus is that of the devil. But these propagandists cannot convert the Southern people to a love of the Union by such satanic dogmas—and their policy can never secure that *Union of the States under the Constitution,* which we have just sworn to defend. The President will not, as it now appears, adopt it; and there is a reason to believe that the Government intends to offer the South terms which will secure the spontaneous and hearty allegiance of a people, who know how to suffer nobly in defence of their opinions, and as nobly to yield to the adverse decision of arms. This is, as Southern citizens understand it, the future political condition which we are sworn to support, and we can pledge the great mass of these citizens, whether Methodists or Baptists, Presbyterians or Episcopalians, or nothing, to fidelity to their oath."

THE REVOLUTION IN KENTUCKY.—The Louisville *Journal,* which is learning wisdom in its age, has the following in reference to the progress of anti-slavery opinion in Kentucky:

"Within the last five years the anti-slavery sentiment has made rapid and thorough progress in this State. In the Presidential election of 1860 only one thousand three hundred and sixty-four votes were polled in Kentucky for Abraham Lincoln; in 1864 he received twenty-seven thousand seven hundred and eighty-six votes; and in our recent election, when the question of emancipation was presented to the people more directly than ever before, the anti-slavery amendment ticket received fifty-four thousand and eight votes. The ratio of increase thus shown in the anti-slavery vote of the State, demonstrates one of the most marked popular revolutions of which we have any record.

"Slavery was never beneficial to Kentucky as a State, and the late war rendered it a positive material as well as political nuisance. This is the conviction which, during five years past, has been rapidly growing in the minds of our people, and which will shortly lead to the removal of the institution from our borders. Kentucky's highest interest will be promoted by establishing the system of free labor throughout her limits as quickly as possible, and we may safely predict that, before twelve months more elapse, there will not be found among our public men a solitary advocate of the slavery system."

ALABAMA.

[We clip the following from the Montgomery (Ala.) correspondence of the Cincinnati *Gazette.*]

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Sept. 14.

THE OFFICE QUESTION.

POSTMASTER BIBB, of this city, who, by the way, is one of the best and most consistent Union men I have met in the South, is in a quandary. He has just received his papers from Washington, among which is a copy of the oath that all employes of the office must take. Said oath contains the following severe test:

And I do further solemnly swear that I have never voluntarily borne arms against the United States since I have been a citizen thereof; that I have voluntarily given no aid, countenance, counsel or encouragement to persons engaged in armed hostility thereto; that I have neither sought nor attempted to exercise the functions of any office whatever, under any authority, or pretended authority, in hostility to the United States; that I have not yielded a voluntary support to any pretended government, authority, or constitution, within the United States, inimical or hostile thereto.

Now, Mr. Bibb himself can easily subscribe to that, but it turns out that he is about the only righteous man in Sodom. Thus far he has not been able to find an assistant who could take the required oath. He can't even get women, for they are all sinners.

How other postmasters in the South get along I don't know; but I do know there are few Southern cities can produce even one man, who could stand the test. If all the Government offices in these States are ever to be filled one of three things will certainly come to pass, viz.: either that oath will be modified, or men imported who can take it, or some very hard swearing done.

THE CLOVEN FOOT.

The *Mail,* of this city, *which, by the way, is the Executive organ and does the printing for the Constitutional Convention,* came out in its issue of the 12th with the following bit of bluster:

THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT.—On Sunday last, at the negro church in this city, occurred a scene illustrative of the vague ideas which fill the brain of the freedmen. The officiating pastor, at the close of his discourse, informed his ebony flock that it was decided that freedmen should be ruled over by men of their own color; and that he desired that all those who were in favor of being governed by men of their own election and color, to raise their arms in token of assent. What are all the results from this elevation of five hundred African arms on a hot day we cannot definitely say, but we are reliably informed by an "intelligent contraband" that one of the results was to express the desire of the meeting for rulers of the African race. What is the meaning of such proceedings? From what source are they taught to believe that any other than the present State Government is to control their actions? Who is authorized to permit such unlawful assemblies to discuss revolutionary measures? Have we no power to prevent scheming fanatics from imposing upon the ignorance and credulity of the negro?

Now the upshot of the whole matter is simply this. On last Sabbath the members of the colored Methodist Church of this city met and passed a resolution to unite themselves with the *African Methodist Church.* Their reasons for this step, were, first, because in their present position all the officers of the church, such as trustees, etc., are white men, and the houses of worship, though paid for by the colored people, are deeded in the names of these white trustees, who could at any time take possession of them; and, secondly, because they have at present no actual representative in the Conferences, not even having a vote in the election of delegates. The African Church has its own Conference, as well as an independent church organization. Of course the action of last Sunday evening, referred to above, was eminently proper, and the course of the *Mail* with regard to it only goes to show how ready some of those Southern journals are to put the freedmen in a false light before the country.

This morning the *Mail* graciously admits into its columns the following correction *as an advertisement:*

[ADVERTISEMENT.]

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Sept. 12, 1865.

MR. EDITOR: Under the caption of "The Irrepressible Conflict," your paper of this morning, illustrating its usual hostility to us as a people, contains the statement that the congregation at "the negro church in this city" voted on the last Sabbath, "that they were in favor of being governed by men of their own color:" implying that they were unwilling to be governed by the lawfully constituted authorities of the State or nation.

Without remarking upon the propriety of publishing a statement of such a character, received from one so liable to misapprehend the facts as your own reference to your informant implies, we have simply to say that the vote referred to was upon the question whether, as a church, we should remain in connection with the Alabama Conference, or join a conference composed of colored churches.

As to the question of our loyalty either to the local or National Government, we certainly need no indorsement from any whose new-born zeal still fails to remove the grave doubts which the remembrances of the late rebellion suggest in regard to the reality of their conversion.

We respectfully request you to publish this communication. Respectfully yours,

MEMBERS OF THE COLORED CHURCH.

Straws show the way the wind blows. D. S.

ARMING THE REBEL STATE TROOPS.

From the N. O. Tribune.

WHEN Gov. Sharkey's proclamation appeared, calling for twelve thousand men of State troops, we pointed out the folly for the United States to allow the Southern army to reorganize. For it is nothing short of the reorganization of the rebel troops that took the forts and arsenals in 1861. We now see the plot developing itself through the neighboring States. Lee's army will soon be in line of battle. President Johnson, allowing the States to reorganize their militia, we are bound to believe that he holds himself in readiness to fight a new battle for Union and Liberty. Having permitted his enemies to shoulder again their muskets and to fall again in line, he certainly expects to fight them. Let the fight come out—although it seems very unwise to renew a contest which was terminated, and when the enemy was in our power. But President Johnson may have views that we do not understand.

That Mississippi will not be able alone to contribute ten or twelve thousand men to the Southern militia was easy enough to forsee. But the Mobile *News,* which is not a "prudent" paper, let the plot leak out, in its number of the 12th inst. That extra loyal paper, whose editor obtained that a general officer be relieved from duty for having pointed out the traitorous articles of the *News* says:

"Thank God! Alabama (as has already been done in Mississippi), will soon have a militia force in organization, and let the whites once more get arms in their hands, and then—woe unto Ethiopia."

Ethiopia and Union are the aims of the rebels. We will carefully preserve this remark "woe unto Ethiopia." If our unfortunate country ought to see a second scene like the San Domingo massacre enacted on our soil, the world must know who uttered the first impious threat.

PARDONING REBELS.—The Washington correspondent of the New York *Times* writes as follows, under date of September 28: "The pardon business of the Attorney-General's office has become so great as to necessitate a clerical force and office room for which there is no provision by law, consequently Mr. Pleasants, the chief pardon clerk, and his assistants are greatly overworked, while the bureau has really become one of great importance, especially to pardon-seekers. To illustrate the amount of business passing through this office, it may be noted that a large rack twelve feet high and eight wide has been erected, which is divided into longitudinal sections running the whole length, each section containing the pardon applications from each State, in process of passing examination. Virginia, of course, takes the lead, her pile being over ten feet high, and containing over three thousand applications. Alabama follows with a pile of fifteen hundred, upon which the dust is accumulating, as the President is awaiting the action of the Alabama State Convention. Georgia is next in order, with a pile about four feet high, containing twelve hundred applications. Mississippi and North Carolina are about the same, seven hundred each. South Carolina has at least five hundred, Tennessee three hundred, Kentucky, Louisiana and Texas about one hundred and fifty each, while Florida, Arkansas, Missouri and Western Virginia are very moderate on the subject, and present but a score or two of applications. Altogether, there are at least ten thousand applications in the Attorney-General's office."

AFFAIRS IN VIRGINIA.

From the Boston Transcript.

THE following is an extract from a private letter written by a Union officer stationed in Richmond, to a friend in this city. The writer enjoys excellent opportunities for knowing the true state of affairs in the Old Dominion:

"It seems as though there was nothing to write about now that the battles and rumors have passed away, but really there is much that is interesting in watching how the newspapers and loud-mouthed politicians down here are trying to persuade President Johnson and the North that the Southern people feel all right toward the Federal Government, etc., etc., and at the same time turning about in their columns to iterate and reiterate to the 'loyal' people,—'Don't for Heaven's sake elect prominent rebels who can't take the necessary oath to Congress this time; what we want is merely to get men *in there*—no matter about ability—and next time we can elect whom we please!' Do you not suppose that these editors know the temper of their readers? And if so, why such continued pleadings and warnings, if the people are properly disposed?

"The social state is enough to show *me* their undying hatred to the North. Lately a great ado has been made over invitations to President Johnson to visit Richmond, and yet President Johnson has had two representatives here the past four months—Gen. Terry, and Gen. Turner, gentlemen in every sense of the word—who have only received civilities from *five families* in this whole city, and it is notorious that those families have been 'cut dead' by all their former associates for having entertained Union officers.

"One can go to the fashionable Episcopal Church here any Sunday and see half the females in the congregation lift up their heads during the prayer for the President of the United States and put them down again immediately after. I have not seen this state of things put rightly in any paper yet. It seems to me to be the disposition of these people, since they have failed in their appeal to arms, to carry every question not irrevocably decided by battle to the ballot-box, and through that reward—first, those who have fought in the Confederate service; second, the Copperheads in the North who have stood by them in the last four years. As soon as the South is restored to its right in Congress you will see an unbroken 'democratic' delegation from all these States, and a persistent attempt to punish after their old style, every man who has been against them during the war. Witness the election here, and also those to the Convention in South Carolina.

"All military men who are true feel sad to have our returned comrades (like Gen. Slocum) accept nominations from the Copperheads, and hope the people will see through the dodge to get votes. There is as great need of firmness now as ever in standing by the right."

THE MASS STATE CONVENTION IN WISCONSIN.

From the Milwaukee Weekly Wisconsin.

THERE have been many speculations as to what will be done in the Mass State Convention next Wednesday. We take it that the chief work to be done there will be the adoption of a platform, in terse and explicit language, expressing the views of the great mass of the loyal people of Wisconsin on the issues of the present time. The Convention, we trust, will meet to instruct their servants as to their wishes, not to be dictated to by those whom they have employed to do their will. The people are the source of authority and power in this country, capable of forming and expressing their own opinions on public questions, and their aggregate wisdom and integrity are more to be relied on than the judgment of office-holders, however exalted in rank and power. All through this war, the people have been ahead of their rulers, both in sagacity and patriotism. And so it is, and will be, in the work of reconstruction. Were it left to the loyal people of the country, who have sustained the Government, heart and soul, in crushing out the rebellion, to say on what terms the rebel States should come back into the Union, and who should be entrusted with the work of reconstruction, the matter could be quickly settled. Rebels and traitors, with broken oaths on their tongues, would not be invited to engineer the work of laying anew the foundations of loyalty, justice and liberty.

Disguise it as we may, and explain it as best we can, the appointment of such Provisional Governors as Perry and Sharkey, rivalling the bitterest Copperheads in the North in their hostility to anti-slavery men and to the freed slaves, is not the entertainment the loyal people of the country expected to be invited to see, and is looked upon with far more fear and distrust than confidence and hope. They are willing to see conciliatory measures tried to the fullest extent, but they wish to see the faith of the Government kept with the loyal people of the South, white and black, and not have the power of the State governments placed in the hands of their enemies. They look with alarm upon the utterance of such sentiments as are contained in the message of Gov. Perry to the South Carolina Convention, and at the resolution of the Alabama Convention recognizing the debts of the rebel government. Six months ago, there was no dissent among loyal men to the proposition, "Union men and not rebels, must henceforth rule the State and National Governments, and disfranchisement—at least for a series of years—is the least punishment that can be inflicted on the actively rebel masses." While cordially supporting the Administration, and believing in the integrity of the President, they have also some faith in their own intelligence and conscienciousness, and believe that National Justice and Honor, and Personal Liberty are above Presidents and rulers, and that the creature is not above the Creator. Thus believing, it is eminently proper for the loyal people of Wisconsin, in Mass Convention assembled, to tell the President and the country what they think of these matters, instead of echoing sentiments imported to them from Washington, or manufactured out of incidental and private conversations with distinguished generals. The Convention will not place itself in antagonism with the Administration, and it will, we trust, represent the genuine Republican party in Wisconsin.

On the question of suffrage, in this State, the Convention, we doubt not, will take a decided stand. We want to see suffrage defended as an inherent right, and not as a privilege—as a right pertaining to manhood, inseperable from the doctrine of a republican government; and we trust we shall not see this Convention disgraced as the last one was, by a plea put forth by Colonel Sanders against suffrage and the right to criticise the course of our rulers—a plea resurrected from the grave of despotism and the Divine Right of Kings.

The Convention, of course, will appoint committees to carry on an active canvass in favor of impartial suffrage. In brief, it will do what the Union Convention failed to do, present the living issues which divide parties.

MORE CONCILIATION.

Correspondence of the Chicago Tribune.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Sept. 25.

FROM a candid examination of the subject, I find the Executive of the General Government has pardoned the most bitter, malignant, and influential class of rebels in Alabama. The Secretary of State told me that it was a detriment to an applicant for pardon to insert in his petition that he was a Union man. I do not doubt it. I believe that Mr. Johnson has chosen for provisional governors men whom he can use as tools. I am convinced beyond a doubt that the President intends to unite the Copperheads of the North and the rabid proscriptive element of the South, and head them in 1867 for re-election. There is not a violent "last dollar, last man" rebel in the South but indorses Andy Johnson. Ex-Governor Joe Brown, of Georgia, has returned home with a full pardon, and the rebel papers are full of his sayings about Johnson, and how clever he is "to us and our element." Scarcely a Copperhead meeting in the North is held without a resolution to support the Executive. Not a meeting is held in the South but the same programme is adopted. The true Union men are blinded, and the rebels are having it all their own way. Very few Republican meetings in the North have agreed unreservedly to support the Administration. All these signs are conclusive evidence to me, that Mr. Johnson has more interest in the next election than he has in the permanency and support of the doctrines vindicated by the war for the Union. Look at his action in regard to Mississippi. If this particular policy is indicative of his general policy, no Union man can live in the South. The proscriptive policy in vogue ten years ago will be renewed with tenfold vigor. Gen. Sherman was almost disgraced for allowing Johnston's army to retain a portion of their arms. There were more Union men in Johnston's army than can be found in Gen. Sharkey's twenty thousand militia. He is authorized to organize two companies in each county. These companies will be nothing more nor less than "Vigilance Committees," for the purpose of ridding the neighborhoods of unpopular men. Old spites and hatred will govern the members of the companies, and woe be unto him who happens to walk in a contrary direction to that indicated by those in power. No doubt the same state of affairs would occur if the organizations were composed of Union men. But they are not, and cannot be, for there are none to be called upon. Gen. Slocum rescinded Gov. Sharkey's order and did what every man, with the interest of his country at heart, would do. He knew it was an official sanction to the organization of disloyal parties, and would be a persecution to the few Union men in the State. Gen. Slocum was cognizant of these facts. No doubt the executive was also, but Gov. Sharkey was sustained and Gen. Slocum directed to rescind his order.

To one, a native of Alabama, driven from his home in 1861 by rebel persecution, and who has fought for four years in the Federal service, in the ranks with the gallent men who composed the Army of the Tennessee, who had lost eighty negroes, whose plantation has been destroyed, boundary lines obliterated, houses and out-buildings burned, with nothing left to mark the spot where was his once happy home, these indications of "Union sentiment" seem very strange.

NEGRO TROOPS—WHAT GEN. GRANT SAYS.

THE Springfield *Republican,* a sort of Bunsby among New-England country newspapers, undertakes to settle the value of negro troops as follows:

"The truth about the matter is, that on several occasions the negro troops fought well. Taken together, they were not equal to the same number of white troops, and no reasonable man ever supposed they could be."

Would the *Republican* perhaps consider Gen. Grant a "reasonable man," his opinion being quite different on this point? Gen. Grant said of the negro troops: "For guard duty and picket duty, on the march and in an assault, *I consider the negro troops surpassed by no soldiers in the world, and equalled by very few.*" "But," queried a listener, "does not that include all you can say of a soldier?" "Nearly, but not quite all," responded the Lieutenant-General; "what remains is, the ability to endure the steady pounding of a protracted campaign." "Yes," said another questioner, "but if the negroes are good for everything else, why not for that?" "I don't say they are not," rejoined Gen. Grant; "I only say they have not been tried."

The parties to that conversation were Gen. Grant, Edwin M. Stanton, and Henry Ward Beecher, and we had it from the lips of the latter. We don't think the negro troops are in need of a certificate, even from Gen. Grant, but we print the foregoing for the benefit of such papers as like to be sure of a respectable indorsement before they make up their opinions.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

BREAKERS AHEAD.

[The following from the *New Nation* calls attention to important points which some are in danger of overlooking. The writer forgets that there are Acts of Congress co-operating with and carrying out further and wider the provisions of Lincoln's Proclamation. But this omission does not much affect his statement; its general truth and the great result remain the same:]

IT has been said that the late rebel States, when once restored to the exclusive control of their internal matters, may reestablish slavery under a new guise. This is not an exhaustive statement of the case. They may *simply continue slavery* in its old form; for its existence has never theoretically (nor, in many cases, practically) ceased. The only Federal instrument affecting it, so far, is the President's Proclamation of January 1, 1863. The scope of this document is confined altogether to the persons who were *then* held as slaves in rebel territory. It made *those* persons free, but places not the slightest hindrance in the way of *others* being "held to service" on the same soil. It has not abolished slavery anywhere. It has merely freed a certain (or uncertain) number of individuals, leaving the *institution* theoretically intact.

Slaves freed by the Emancipation Proclamation, will, of course, be sustained in their claim to liberty by the U. S. courts, whatever the actions or desires of the respective States may be. But further than this, Federal authority cannot go, as soon as Southern State governments are in operation. Slaves may be bred in Kentucky and Delaware, and imported into the other Southern States without contravening any law—whether constitutional or proclamational. The old auction-block may yet be returned from Boston to Charleston, the "niggerpen" may again open its doors for the reception of human cattle, the sound of the lash may once more "make night (and day, too,) hideous," and the entire paraphernalia of the "good old patriarchal days" may be resuscitated in this "Land of the Free." Neither the human nor the canine bloodhound's "occupation's gone;" there are yet Elizas to be chased across the drift-ice into Ohio, and yet Uncle Toms to be butchered on Red River plantations. And the Haleys and Legrees of to-day constantly remind us, by fresh acts of barbarity, that whatever may have become of their former victims, THEY "still live."

All this is not imaginary, but real; not in the "dim and distant future," but in the tangible present. It needs no movement, no change, no agitation, to revive these atrocities. They live as realistic lives as ever; their action is only suspended for the want of material to act upon. Furnish this to-day—and to-morrow all the horrors of which we deemed ourselves delivered are again upon us!

To the rescue then! Remember that we deal with a monster which, for eighty years, has held this nation in chains, and which has lost but a part of its vitality, and none of its malignity! While it yet is prostrate, hasten to render its recovery impossible! Return the autonomy of the South—when you return it—not into the hands of her *white* people, but of her *entire* people!

KIDNAPPING AT MEMPHIS.

CAMP OF 153D REGIMENT ILLINOIS INFANTRY,
MEMPHIS, Tenn., Sept. 16, 1865.

Editors Chicago Tribune:

IT is the desire, I think, of every right-minded man, and, I know, of almost every officer in this regiment, that you should give to the world, through the columns of your widely circulated journal, some facts which have come to our knowledge in regard to the manner of treatment that the colored people here have received at the hands of their appointed guardians, the officers of the Freedmen's Bureau at this point. It seems that there has been for some time past a guard of Illinois soldiers—men from "Old Kane," from Cook, La Salle

engaged, and that the Government could find no other and better use for the men who had volunteered to defend its honor, than to be made the lackeys of these returned rebel planters, that the soldiers are men sworn to obey orders, and they cannot and dare not disobey or stop to argue their legality. The responsibility of their acts while thus obeying orders rests upon the commander who issues them.

I will cite a few facts. Our men say that they have had to lie around houses until a late hour in the night, and then make a descent upon them and seize and bear off their inmates. They have also been employed to patrol the streets and seize upon all who had no pass and bear them off, under what is called a vagrant order, and in direct violation of order 129, regarding passes. One of our officers was a day or two since offered the tempting bribe of one hundred dollars to kidnap a squad. But the chivalry for once were deceived in their man; he rejected their offer with the scorn that they and it so justly merited. Another instance worthy of remark is this, that although the Government has instituted schools for the education of colored children, even they are not exempt, and I am informed that a young girl was, but a day or two since, set upon while going to school, with her books in hand, and the attempt made to carry her off, but she tore herself free and ran to a place of safety.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1865.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION.

NO STATE SHALL MAKE ANY DISTINCTION IN CIVIL RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES AMONG THE NATURALIZED CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES RESIDING WITHIN ITS LIMITS, OR AMONG PERSONS BORN ON ITS SOIL OF PARENTS PERMANENTLY RESIDENT THERE, ON ACCOUNT OF RACE, COLOR, OR DESCENT.

ANNUAL MEETING.—The Twenty-eighth Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Horticultural Hall, West Chester, October 27th, day and evening. A more particular notice hereafter. JAMES MOTT, President.
BENJAMIN C. BACON, Cor. Secretary.

THE STANDARD Subscribers to whom bills are sent, will confer a favor by remitting the amounts due at their earliest convenience.

HATCHING THE EGGS.

"BETTER hatch the egg than smash it," said Mr. Lincoln, striving to make the bad case of Louisiana better by one of his homely and popular illustrations. But the people are not always to be caught by a phrase that pleases the ear. They found Lousiana such a bad egg that they were very willing to let Mr. Sumner smash it in the Senate. The system of reconstruction of which Louisiana was one example, offers others quite as bad to-day; and again the question is to come up whether to hatch the egg or smash it. We are bound to stand by while the incubation goes on. We are very suspicious of the eggs, and we don't like the sort of hens that are cackling over them. To speak plainly, we think Alabama and South Carolina are two eggs that at this moment are in great need of smashing.

These two States stand just as Mississippi stood when President Johnson pronounced his benediction on the labors of her convention. They have done what they must in order to get back—no more. They have sullenly, and with every demonstration of anger, passed ordinances recognizing the abolition of slavery. They have repealed or otherwise nullified the ordinances of secession. But Alabama is no more loyal, no more anti-slavery, to-day than when she seceded. South Carolina is not. They submit to force—are conquered, not converted. The evidence that they are not is neither conjectural nor dubious. It comes from the mouths of the most eminent men in the two conventions. With their usual contempt for public opinion, the pro-slavery leaders proclaim their hatred to emancipation, hatred to the Government, hatred to the negro, hatred of the Union, and hatred of the North. In Alabama the master-spirits of the convention were Mr. White and Mr. Langdon. The former led what is called the Conservative party—too surly even to agree to the President's terms. He proposed to substitute for the ordinance passed, an ordinance declaring slavery abolished in case the Supreme Court should uphold the Emancipation Proclamation. He does not want Alabama back in the Union—at any rate not in a hurry. He says frankly:

"We were precipitated out of the Union with reckless audacity and wide-spread ruin. It is now proposed with trembling timidity that we shall precipitate back into the Union, *to be followed by consequences still more fatal because more universal*, more lasting, and equally vital in their character. I opposed the one with all the energy of an earnest and thoroughly aroused nature, down to the last moment of its accomplishment, *and with like earnestness I shall contend against the other.*"

The only inducement in his mind to return is the hope of destroying the power of the Radicals, and restoring the "Northern Democracy." As the head of the Reactionists, Mr. White's declaration may not excite great surprise. But after him comes Mr. Langdon, who opposes Mr. White's proposal for a contingent acceptance of emancipation, and who leads the most loyal and most Radical party in the convention. Yet Mr. Langdon says:

"Most gladly would I vote for the substitute, if the institution could thereby be saved. I agree that those acts [of emancipation] are all unconstitutional, illegal, and atrocious. . . . We are not responsible. . . . I glory in the fact that we yielded no principle till we were compelled to. . . . The Proclamation of the President and acts of Congress were unmitigated inhumanities. . . . I denounced it as an atrocity, and I still believe that the Confederate Government did not adopt as severe measures as it should have done. I say this to let men know that I for one don't yield slavery willingly. I believe that setting the slaves free in these States will be put down as the blackest act ever performed."

He differs from Mr. White only in thinking it necessary to get back into the Union, and his motive is two-fold: "to enable our friends in the North to destroy the Radical party;" and for this:

"*We must get control of these negroes.* . . . . . We cannot endure what is now going on. I will not particularize, for you all know to what I refer. We know how to manage the negro better than anybody else, *but we cannot get control of him without first getting back into the Union.*"

Under the leadership of such men, it was perhaps inevitable that the convention should pass an ordinance denying to the negroes the right to testify in courts in any case—even in cases where blacks only are parties, which is more than the old slave code did. It wound up its work by resolving that, whereas the people of Alabama have given unmistakable evidence of their loyalty, they therefore pray the President to withdraw the troops from the State. We are content the loyalty should be judged by the "unmistakable evidence," yet whether there be less or more of it, who shall ensure us against the withdrawal of the troops? It seems as if these conventions could not do or say anything so bad as not to receive the approval of the President.

The South Carolina Convention but echoes the message of its Provisional Governor, Mr. Perry. One of the first resolutions offered was by Mr. Aldrich, as follows;

"Resolved, That under the present extraordinary circumstances, it is both wise and politic to accept the condition in which we are placed; to endure patiently the evils which we cannot avert or correct; *and to await calmly the time and opportunity to effect our deliverance from unconstitutional rule.*"

It was not deemed prudent to pass that, but the debate on it showed that the feeling of the Convention was on the side of the mover. The same feeling broke out again after the repeal of the ordinance of secession—a repeal effected in a silence that afforded the most impressive contrast to the tumultuous cheers with which the act of secession itself was passed in 1860. It was proposed to declare that:

"Whereas, By the fortunes of war our former noble and beloved Chief Magistrate, Jefferson Davis, is now languishing in prison, awaiting his trial for treason; and

"Whereas, The fanatics of the North, not satisfied with the wide-spread ruin and desolation which *they* have caused, are shrieking for his blood—

"Therefore Resolved, that it is the *paramount* duty of South Carolina to use every lawful means to avert his doom, and that a deputation be sent to Washington to ask that the same clemency shown to us, 'the sharers of his guilt, *if guilt there be*,' be granted to Davis."

Then comes Mr. Blair with an amendment "to prevent the negroes from engaging in any but menial occupations." One of the sea-coast delegates declares that "The negro is an animal whose character the North seems utterly unable to comprehend." Mr. Thomson avows his conviction that "the measure of our own necessities should be the measure of our recognition of the negro as an element in the body politic." Dr. Boyce condenses his intelligence into a repetition of the Presidential dogma, "This is a white man's government." "Even South Carolina," remarks the correspondent of a conservative Northern journal, "with all her desolation, does not yet fully comprehend that there has been a deluge. I did hope, however, that I should find half a dozen men at least, in favor of giving suffrage to some negroes, as many more in favor of abolishing the barbaric color-qualification, and still as many more ready to admit that suffrage would be the right of the negro, as soon as he is able to use it understandingly. Vain hope!" The Sodom of the South has no six nor two white men to save her. Why should she have? What inducement for her to do more than the Government asks her to do? The Convention follows the lead of Gov. Perry, and Gov. Perry has the unqualified approval and endorsement of President Johnson. As the latter does not believe in negro suffrage, as he does not wish any civil right to be granted to the blacks, as he is withdrawing the troops that constitute the sole protection of the freedmen from the exasperated whites, South Carolina may well suppose she can indulge her feelings without fear of exciting opposition. Perhaps the only mistake she makes, is in forgetting that there is a North which President Johnson does not represent, and a Congress which he may not be able to control.

POLITICAL APATHY OF THE PEOPLE

IN the State of Ohio two generals have been nominated for Governor. One was known as a squire of Gen. McClellan's—and, like his knight, a failure. The other was a successful and accomplished soldier. The contest was easy, but the successful soldier went out of his way to publish an essay—the burden of which was, that there should be no suffrage for the negro; that we freed him and yet denied him freedom. He was not called upon to speak, and as a timid man might have pleaded the resolutions of a silent convention for his silence. In Pennsylvania a platform was adopted, containing just the very slightest essence of manhood; not enough to prevent insipidity, but to escape utter stagnation. But for Thaddeus Stevens, even this might not have been gained. At the head of the Union campaign is John Cessna, a politician who came over from the Democracy within a few months. John Cessna must write a long and weary address, denouncing negro equality and negro suffrage. Forney, Cameron, and the rest follow, and not even Kelly or Hickman has had the boldness to protest. Since John Cessna wrote his address, the Pennsylvania papers have been stupid reading. The campaign has no fire; the guns shoot powder and blank cartridges; the contest is conducted on Chinese principles. The Union people in Ohio and Pennsylvania are on the defensive. The guns of last year have been taken by the Democracy and turned upon them. Instead of fighting like men with manly thought and high endeavor, they protest that the shooting is ungenerous, unkind, unconstitutional, Copperheadish, disrespectful to the President. The Democracy want office. The Union politicians want to keep office. Beyond this we see nothing in these political campaigns.

The Union party in these States has been composed of what Gen. Sherman would call bummers, and soldiers of the line. The duty of the bummers has been to ride on the flanks of the army and look after good things—plunder, office, money, contracts, custom-houses, any promotion, diplomatic missions. Whether the army retreated or advanced, their scheme was the same. Whatever orders came from headquarters they shouted lusty obedience. They were for emancipation and against it, for arming the negroes and opposed to it, according to the last rumor that came from Washington. Their duty was to keep fat and sleek. They did. The true soldiers love the brunt of the contest. They followed the war to its different conclusions. As we advanced from thought to thought along the usual line of our campaign, always moving, sometimes tardily, but still forward, until finally emancipation was carried—there was as much sacrifice, and privation, and strife—keener, because purely moral—as among the men encamped around Petersburg. It is not in the nature of the men who carried emancipation, to pause until they have gathered all its fruits. The end of the war, by throwing at our feet the whole Southern Confederacy, enabled us to dictate the remainder of our terms. We should have said to the South: "No State shall come into this Union from rebellion, in which manhood and labor are not the only tests of suffrage. The men who fought for us while you fought against us—the men whose labor has been the plunder upon which you have fattened for centuries—shall not be kept in a condition of half-slavery, nondescript, helpless, oppressed; while you return to even greater power than that used against us in rebellion." We have not said this. The President has an "experiment;" and that opens a new and grave duty to the Republican party.

Never had a party a more noble duty. If that party had kept steadily on, plainly showing to the President that he must either lead or be left on the roadside among the stragglers, his policy might have been changed. The sentiment of the party is right, but the bummers show great concern. Having no principle but plunder—recognizing no duty but that of rifling barns and hen-roosts—the moment the President hesitated they stopped. They would go no further. Presidential indecision was their indecision. He might try as many experiments as he pleased—they would also try experiments. The rest of the army might go ahead and fight, but here behind were the good things, and here they would remain. This is the true meaning of Mr. Cessna's address in Pennsylvania, and of Gen. Cox's essay in Ohio. It is for this reason there is so much lassitude and apathy in the Republican ranks. The only people who have any interest in the contest are the bummers—and that is the interest of plunder. Keep the Republican party in power, by all means, say they, but henceforward let it be a gorging party, to hold office and make new offices. No principle is involved in the contest. The only difference between the two parties is that of men. Republicans battled, and the Democracy advanced, until now they have reached their enemy's camp-ground, and insist upon crowding in and feeding in it. They will sustain the President, of course. He has good things to give, and the essence of Democracy is to court power and good things. Why should they not come in and eat? The bummers are willing; for, like all of their class, they are generous.

Just now the danger of all parties threatens the Republican. When no principle remains, it loses life and savor. The bummers are obedient as long as plunder is possible; the soldiers of the line march on to better and purer associations. Truth is not injured. Other men follow its banner. The painful thought is that men who have fought for truth thus far, with the power to gain further victories, should sit down like Arabs and Tartars, and content themselves with eating, drinking, and sloth.

A CORRESPONDENT of the Boston *Daily Advertiser*, after relating a case of curious monomania at Newport, adds:

"The conservatives of Newport and their friends throughout the State seem to think the recent action of our School Committee, by which colored children are admitted on equal terms with the whites to the public schools, almost as much a mark of insanity as the instance recorded above. It will be remembered that Newport was once heavily engaged in the slave trade, and that, unlike most of the cities of New England, she has never been able to conquer her prejudices against those whom she helped to oppress. To this day several of her leading churches have rules by which no colored person is allowed to occupy a pew even for a single sabbath in the house of God, and an attempt to repeal the "regulation" would awaken the stormiest opposition. The new order, therefore, coming altogether unexpectedly from the committee, was like a clap of thunder from a clear sky. But the thing is done and there is no help for it. Much of the credit of the change belongs to Col. Higginson, so well known in Massachusetts, who now resides here, and who, as a member of the committee, was the mover of the resolution. Rev. C. T. Brooks, of the Unitarian Church, was also an earnest advocate of the measure. The friends of this gentleman will be pleased to learn that his congregation have granted him a year's respite from his labors, and furnished him the means for a sojourn in Europe. He will soon start on his tour, spending most of the time in Germany and Italy, where it is thought he may be able to recruit his failing health. Mr. Brooks is well known in the world of letters, and his admirers will be glad to know that he is so well cared for. The arrangements for the supply of the pulpit in his absence are not yet announced."

THE BULWARK OF SLAVERY.

THIRTY years ago, Judge Birney, of Kentucky, an elder in the Presbyterian Church, and a *reformed* slaveholder, wrote a book entitled "The American Church, the Bulwark of American Slavery." It was a startling title, but none the less true, as every active and earnest anti-slavery man and woman in that body learned. Driven from every other hiding place, the monster at last took refuge in the bible, in the pulpit, and at the sacramental altars. From thence he was never wholly dislodged, till the terrors of war shook the sea and the land. Uncle Tom's Cabin was dramatized and performed to astonished millions in both hemispheres whose blood curdled at the horrors of slavery it revealed, and of course execrated, while Northern baptized communicants were welcoming their slave-breeding brethren to the pulpit and the sacramental supper. Kansas and California were made free by the politicians and the Government, while yet church members were selling one another at public auction, for prostitution, for plantation labor, or whatever use and behoof awaited always the victims of the "peculiar institution." The attitude of the churches of the South to-day, shows what has ever been their spirit, and practice also, in relation thereto. And they surely are no worse now, than when, ten and twenty years ago, they were welcomed and honored delegates, and members of all the great National "General Conferences," "General Assemblies," "Triennial Conventions," Bible, Missionary, and Tract Societies, into which the church then brigaded her mighty forces. The anti-slavery movement first assailed slavery as *an evil*—not quite *a sin*. This was stoutly denied as a doctrine, and opposed as a ground for assailing it. Professor Stuart, of Andover Theological Seminary, wrote a book entitled Slavery not a *Malum in Se*, and the mob meanwhile clinched his argument by breaking up female anti-slavery prayer-meetings and other gatherings of the people for anti-slavery purposes. Instead, however, of quenching the divinely-kindled flame, it was only fanned by such means into greater intensity. Soon, slavery was boldly proclaimed, always and everywhere, A SIN; *a sin against God and a crime against humanity.* Methodist history had preserved the anathema of John Wesley against it, as the "*sum of all villanies.*" The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, too, had a registered declaration long neglected, if not forgotten, that "*to steal* A MAN *is the highest kind of theft.*" The conflict became more and more fearful as these, and similar testimonies were reaffirmed, and the new doctrine spread. Virtually, there were two gospels—one of freedom, of deliverance to the captive; the other of slavery, with its dread paraphernalia of whips, fetters, and branding irons. Soon it was declared and defended, that no slaveholder could be a Christian; and next, that a Northern apologist, accomplice, and abettor, was equally guilty with the actual perpetrator of the crime at the South.

A new political party was formed—known as "the Liberty party"—into which large numbers of ministers, and many honest and conscientious church members entered as a city of refuge from the sterner demands of the anti-slavery gospel, which involved repentance and righteousness, a coming out from the evil door and holding no farther fellowship with his unfruitful works of darkness. The testimony of the party was, indeed, better than that of the church to which so many of its adherents still belonged; for, while they would sit at the sacramental board on Sunday with the most pro-slavery Whigs or Democrats of that day, and even slaveholders who were temporarily among them, they would not on Monday vote for them to fill any office, unless they abandoned boldly and determinedly their old political relationship and joined the new.

Such prostitution of principle could not of course long survive as an element of power. Its main result was to cast odium on all anti-slavery pretension in the Church, and so to pervert or paralyze the public conscience. Added to this, was its most unsparing denunciation all the while, of the anti-slavery enterprise proper, as downright infidelity. The Government had denounced it as *treason*, and Daniel Webster solemnly added "*the penalty of treason is death.*" And thus as treason, the Government held it fit for the halter; while as heresy, the church doomed it to hell.

But the right was revealed at last by the conflagration of civil commotion and war. The Hebrew prophets foretold to their nation the impending storm. They were only mocked and scorned; but the storm and destruction came. The Abolitionists warned their countrymen in state and church, that the God of the oppressed still lived, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever! The last four or five years have vindicated their ministry as commissioned from on high.

The Church proved false before. It is no better to-day. It should have led the popular action in the direction of justice. It did not even point the way. The assassination of President Lincoln was the voice of God more manifest, more significant, than any similar dispensation in the last eighteen hundred years. The South saw it, felt it. She was sore afraid. So, too, were her most guilty and direct accomplices in the North. Had the Church in that solemn hour been awake to all its sublime meanings, it might have called for justice, and it would have been executed with alacrity. The Government and all the people were ready. The South would only have asked for life. The Administration might have hung a thousand rebels, had it been needful, and banished ten thousand. It might have disfranchised the whole Confederate army, and conferred suffrage on every black soldier and black man who could read and write his name. Every rebel State could have been held a territory, and governed accordingly. The lands could have been deeded to the slaves, whose blood, tears, and toil, in almost a hundred years, have given them all the value they have above the wild haunts of the savage. This and more might have been done, and all divinity in heaven, all humanity on earth, would have approved. Reconstruction would then have been easy of accomplishment, and millennial in its results.

But the golden opportunity was suffered to pass. Neither the pulpit, the church, nor the Administration heeded or comprehended the fearful apocalypse of the Fourteenth of April last. In the death of the President, a way was provided for the salvation of the nation, had the nation even then been ready to do justice and righteousness. But this perhaps last possibility, is now apparently lost. This very week, the New England State of Connecticut has renewedly insulted the Majesty of heaven and earth by denying the little boon of suffrage to some of the very noblest of its citizens on account of their complexion! It has dared to do it while the whole land is yet reeling under divine judgments. It was not alone the Democratic party that did it; Republicanism did it; the Church did it; the Pulpit did it. Had all these been faithful it could not have been done. Democrats and devils together would have been powerless for a deed so infamous.

Massachusetts, too, was there, deep in the guilt. Its recent Convention, presided over by its noble Senator Sumner, went out of its way to outrage justice, by declaring "*it had no theory of suffrage* to propound," well knowing what the effect of such an announcement must be, in the present state of the public mind and conscience, and in the present balance of political parties on that tremulous question.

The Church presents herself to the world, as *its light.* Her claim is, I am the light of the world, and the salt of the earth. Whatsoever I bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven! When the anti-slavery mission began, the State, of course, opposed it. The Church mainly, was with the opposition, come from whence it might. The Pilate of politics and the Herod of the Church were made friends in the new crucifixion of humanity. Faithful ministers, and many lay members were denounced and expelled. Some of the very noblest and best of them are not yet, perhaps never will be, restored. In the "light" shed by such a Church on its pathway, who wonders at what the State did, or is still doing? doing in Connecticut, and at the South? Judge Birney was right in the title-page, and every page of his book.

Let the honest people beware of such combinations of men, whether of State or Church. The last hope of salvation may have fled. It surely has, if these, as they are now, are the only reliance; for they are seeking still to build themselves up on the prostrate bodies and souls of men immortal as themselves.

A CARD FROM MR. CONWAY.

To the Editor of the Standard:

SIR,—My attention is called to a short notice of me in your last week's issue, in which you tell your readers that I have written a letter in support of President Johnson's policy of Restoration, also that I have gone to Richmond, Va., to reside; am counsel for numberless rebel applicants for pardons, and expressing the fear that I will have to be reckoned amongst the lost sheep of Israel.

I wonder you did not also inform your readers of the fact that for three years I was a proscribed man throughout the North, and that conspiracies were entered into by leading public men to ruin me in business and otherwise, for the reason that I assumed the responsibility in my place in the House of Representatives, to declare that an official recognition of the independence of the Southern Confederacy was the only condition of Northern independence and triumph.

I wonder you did not also tell them that this base persecution was pursued against a man who had signalized his devotion to Human Freedom by personal sacrifices and labors greater than those of any other person of his age in the land.

As you have failed to make any mention of these little points of the case, I thus take the liberty to do so myself, and ask you to place this note in a conspicuous part of your paper for the edification of all whom it may concern.

As to my support of the President's line of action towards the States lately in rebellion, I render it for the simple reason that the situation of affairs makes it the only course which can be pursued. There is no discretion to be exercised in the premises by any body. The States *lately* in rebellion are in rebellion no longer, but in the Union of the Constitution; and I know of no power great enough to displace them—neither that of the President, nor Congress.

What is to be thought of a public man who will seriously propose to have Congress or the President enact a law of suffrage for a recognized State of the Union?

Very truly yours,
M. F. CONWAY.

RICHMOND, Va., Sept. 28th, 1865.

—We print the foregoing, as Mr. Conway requests, but we cannot see that it helps his case. That he was an anti-slavery man in other days and suffered for his devotion, makes us regret all the more his present apostasy, but cannot soften the rigor of the just censure we must award him. All that we reluctantly charged upon him, Mr. Conway admits. It is most unfortunate for him that his conduct subjects him to the further suspicion of having abandoned his principles not from mere frivolousness, but for the sake of the new career on which he has entered at Richmond.

A CRY FOR HELP.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Sept. 22, 1865.

To the Editor of the Standard:

SIR,—For Heaven's sake, cannot you do something for us before we are driven to despair? When I took up the Charleston *Courier* this morning, and read Gen. Howard's order, approved by the President, I became weak in my knees, weak in my hands, and weak in my hopes. Call me not faint heart; for there is a dark cloud hovering over us, and the flashes of lightning are too keen and clear to be mistaken in the terribleness of the storm that will eventually sweep us from the face of the earth, unless our friends rally to a man and stand by us at all hazards. Our former owners have become our deadly enemies, because we helped the Government in putting them down as rebels. Now, sir, to turn us off from the land that the Government has allowed us to occupy, is nothing less than returning us to involuntary servitude. We shall have no home, for the President will certainly pardon them all—yes, every one of them, just so sure as you live, and very soon—and they will come and turn us off and let us go adrift, unless we do as Gov. Perry says, go to our old masters and work, just as we did before, for our victuals and clothes. They will make freedom a curse to us, for we have no home, no land, no oath, no vote, and consequently no country; and it would be far be[illegible] that we had never been born than to undergo the [illegible]ips and punishment that would be inflicted o[illegible] are left alone. May Heaven forbid, and God [illegible]rotect us from the revenge of the rebels and th[illegible]nt's policy.

I am a poor man, just liber[illegible] the fall of Charleston, and I have a wife an[illegible]my mother to feed and clothe, all of which I do [illegible]de to myself and satisfaction to them. But as the times are hard I have no money just now to pay you, therefore I must beg of you this favor, which I hope to God you will grant. I here enclose the dreadful order.

Truly yours, JOHN PINCKNEY.

—We must leave this letter without comment. Indeed, what can we say so well or so forcibly as this black man has said? No word of ours can tell him where to turn for relief from the order which, as its first paragraph shows, is a matured purpose of the Bureau and the Government. The section which will dispossess the South Carolina freedmen is the seventh. Rebel owners of the Sea-Islands have simply to get a recommendation for pardon from Gov. Perry—himself as much a rebel as any of them—and President Johnson will grant their pardon as a matter of course. The fact that by stopping confiscation under such circumstances, and restoring their lands, he nullifies a law of Congress, will not in the least disturb the President, nor arrest his headlong course.

The order is as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT, BUREAU OF REFUGEES, FREEDMEN, ETC., WASHINGTON, Sept. 12, 1865.
[CIRCULAR.]

Circular No. 15, of date September 4, having been by accident prematurely promulgated, it is recalled, and Circular No. 15, of date September 12, revising it in some particulars, is substituted therefor.

O. O. HOWARD,
Maj.-Gen., Commissioner.

WAR DEPARTMENT, BUREAU OF REFUGEES FREEDMEN AND ABANDONED LANDS, WASHINGTON, September 12, 1865.
[CIRCULAR NO. 15.]

I. Circular No. 13, of July 28, 1865, from this Bureau, and all portions of Circulars from this Bureau conflicting with the provisions of this Circular, are hereby rescinded.

II. This Bureau has charge of such "tracts of land within the insurrectionary States as shall have been abandoned, or to which the United States shall have acquired title by confiscation or sale or otherwise," and no such lands now in its possession shall be surrendered to any claimant except as hereinafter provided.

III. Abandoned lands are defined in section 2 of the Act of Congress, approved July 2, 1864, as lands "the lawful owner whereof shall be voluntarily absent therefrom, and engaged either in arms or otherwise in aiding or encouraging the rebellion."

IV. Land will not be regarded as confiscated until it has been condemned and sold by decree of the United States Court for the District in which the property may be found, and the title thereto thus vested in the United States.

V. Upon its appearing satisfactorily to any Assistant Commissioner that any property under his control is not abandoned as above defined, and that the United States have acquired no title to it, by confiscation, sale or otherwise, he will formally surrender it to the authorized claimant or claimants, promptly reporting his action to the Commissioner.

VI. Assistant Commissioners will prepare accurate descriptions of all confiscated and abandoned lands under their control, keeping a record thereof themselves, and forwarding monthly, to the Commissioner, copies of these descriptions in the manner prescribed in Circular No. 10, of July 11, 1865, from this Bureau.

They will set apart so much of said lands as is necessary for the immediate use of loyal refugees and freedmen, being careful to select for this purpose those lands which most clearly fall under the control of this Bureau, which selection must be submitted to the Commissioner for his approval.

The specific divison of lands so set apart into lots, and the rental or sale thereof, according to section 4, of the law establishing the Bureau, will be completed as soon as practicable, and reported to the Commissioner.

VII. Abandoned lands held by this Bureau may be restored to owners pardoned by the President by the Assistant Commissioners, to whom applications for such restoration should be forwarded, so far as practicable through the Superintendents of the Districts in which the lands are situated.

Each application must be accompanied by—

1st. Evidence of special pardon by the President, or a copy of the oath of amnesty, prescribed in the President's proclamation of May 29, 1865, when the applicant is not included in any of the classes therein excepted from the benefits of said oath.

2d. Proof of title.

Officers of the Bureau through whom the application passes will endorse thereon such facts as may assist the Assistant Commissioner in his decision, stating especially the use made by the Bureau of the land.

VIII. No lands under cultivation by loyal refugees or freedmen will be restored under this Circular until the crops now growing shall be secured for the benefit of the cultivators, unless full and just compensation be made for their labor and its products, and for their expenditures.

O. O. HOWARD,
Maj.-Gen., Commissioner.

Approved:
ANDREW JOHNSON,
President of the United States.

PERSONAL.

Mrs. E. Cady Stanton has returned to New York; and her address is 464 West 34th street.

Punch says that his holiness the Pope has given positive orders that all his bulls shall be kept within the precincts of the Vatican while the cattle disease is rife.

Capt. H. Ford Douglass, late of the First Kansas Colored Battery, has closed an honorable military career and is establishing (with a partner) a first-class restaurant in the city of Atchison, Kansas.

A. J. Grover, Esq., formerly of Abington, Mass., in addition to his large practice in the legal profession in Ottawa, Illinois, has become proprietor and editor of the Ottawa *Republican.* As all who know him might expect, the paper in his hands gives us, so far, good reasons to wish it success.

Berryer, the venerable French jurist and patriot, is busy at his chateau d'Angerville, with the assistance of M. Andral and other friends, preparing his pleadings and speeches for the press. The work promises to be a valuable contribution to French political history, jurisprudence, and literature.

The graceful compliment which we paid to the French people in erecting a monument to Lieut. Bellot, in the front of Greenwich Hospital, our neighbors have returned to us, says the *Athenæum*, by erecting a monument to Dr. Jenner at Boulogne, which, with appropriate ceremony, has just been uncovered. May such courtesies continue between us for ever!

Anna E. Dickinson announces three lectures for the winter, on "Home Thrusts," "Earnestness," and "Flood Tide." A fourth on the "Record of the Democratic Party during the Rebellion" is shortly to be delivered in Philadelphia. Miss Dickinson opens the Bay State course in Boston, Thursday evening, Oct. 12, and will afterward speak in the Fraternity course in the same city.

The train on the A. and G. W. Railway, which conveyed the English guests West last week, was stopped for a few minutes in front of the former residence of "Old John Brown" at Kent, the English visitors taking marked interest in the building. The whole party united in singing the "John Brown Song" and wood and bricks from the building were eagerly seized on as relics. Instructions were given by Mr. McHenry to have several canes made of the wood, and inlaid with gold plate with inscriptions.

A singular scene was witnessed at the White House last week. An old man and two women, all colored, came to seek an interview with the President to urge the pardon of their late master, a man named Williams, who it appears was a wealthy Virginian planter at the breaking out of the war, but is now so poor that his former chattels, out of pity, seek to do him a service. Williams some time ago made application for pardon, but his petition has not yet been acted upon.

Gov. Andrew has been travelling in the interior of New York for health and recreation. On Thursday of last week he delivered the address before the Tompkins county agricultural fair at Ithaca. Whether he will accept the Presidency of Antioch College is still a question—friends of his who ought to be well informed asserting with equal positiveness that he will, and that he will not.

The history of the life of the guerilla Mosby has made its appearance, and has been extensively circulated in Fauquier county, Va., where that personage resides. It is a small-sized volume of about 200 pages, and abounds in badly executed wood cuts, in which tremendous efforts have been made by the artist to caricature "the Yanks" and "the blue-bellies." One of the cuts is intended to represent a guerilla standing over a Union soldier, who is being taught by his captor to say the Lord's Prayer preparatory to his being murdered. The above we take from a dispatch to the Boston *Journal.* The next sentence in the same dispatch is:

"Thirty-seven rebels of the $20,000 class from South Carolina were amnestied to-day!"

In the old churchyard at Highgate, England, which stands in the centre of the village, at present all is confusion, for a new church is to be built, and the dead are being moved to make room for the necessary operations. Among the dead in that ground were buried Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and his nephew, Henry Nelson Coleridge, whose remains lie just opposite the iron gate which faces the road. It is to be hoped that the spot to which the bones of so memorable a man as the former may be removed will be marked and known.

John G. Whittier writes in the Amesbury *Villager* in favor of J. Q. A. Griffin as a candidate for Congress from the sixth district of Massachussetts, and gives him this first-rate notice: "He is an able lawyer, a clear thinker, a terse writer, and a vigorous and eloquent speaker. Above all, he is strongly and emphatically right on the great issues of the time. From what I know of him I feel sure that, if elected, he would do honor to the district, and at once take his stand with the able and marked men of the New England delegation." Without endorsing quite all of that, we are very sure that Mr. Griffin would represent Massachussetts far more faithfully than such a man as N. P. Banks, who is reported to be a candidate.

The wife of Kossuth, whose maiden name was Theresa Meszlènyi, died on September 1st, at Turin, in her 55th year, and was buried at Genoa by the side of the remains of her only daughter. This accomplished lady is well remembered in this country, which she visited with her husband in 1851. While here she was already suffering from illness. Notwithstanding all the tender care of her family and the genial influence of the Italian climate, her health continued to fail, and in addition to his two sisters buried on American soil, the illustrious Hungarian patriot mourns now over a grave at Genoa, holding all that remains of his faithful Theresa, who has been sharing with devotion and sympathy all the glories and vicissitudes of her husband's extraordinary career.

Rev. Dr. Francis Wayland died on Saturday, Sept. 30. He was a native of New York, and born on the 11th of March, 1796. Having graduated at Union College in 1813, he at first studied medicine, but subsequently devoted himself to theology. Joining the Baptist church in 1816, he accepted the next year a tutorship in Union College. In 1821 he was called to the pastorship of the first Baptist Church in Boston, where he remained five years. In September, 1826, he was elected Professor in Union College, but in December of the same year he was chosen President of Brown University. In 1849 he resigned the Presidency of the University but consented to retain it on condition that the institution should be reorganized on a plan indicated by him. This was accordingly done, and $125,000 raised to effect the changes. He finally retired in 1855. His chief works were: "Thoughts on the Collegiate System of the United States," Boston, 1842; "Elements of Moral Science," Boston, 1835; "Elements of Political Economy," 1837; "Life of Rev. Adoniram Judson," two volumes, 1853; "Intellectual Philosophy," 1854, and many others. A correspondence between him and the Rev. Richard Fuller, on the subject of Slavery, was published under the title "Christianity and Slavery," New York, 1854.

At the Convention of the Radical Republicans of Wisconsin, held in Janesville, Sept. 27, Gen. Paine reviewed the career of Senator Doolittle—severely but truthfully declaring:

"His work in the Senate of the United States has been a pro-slavery work [applause] from the beginning almost to the end of it. The attempt to colonize the poor blacks from about Washington in a sickly location, in a colony where they died in great numbers, and from which President Lincoln had to bring them back, was his work. His was colonization policy. Wherever the question of emancipation policy or of colored men's rights has been up in the Congress of the United States, I appeal to his record to show that his influence and vote have always been against the rights of the colored men, against the principles of the Declaration of Independence, giving to all equal rights. What was his conduct in regard to the rights of the negro? Did he not oppose Mr. Sumner's plan to prevent the abuse of colored men in the cars at Washington? Did he not thank God that he had courage to make a speech against the colored men? Look at his course regarding the repeal of the infamous fugitive slave law. Was he in his seat? No, he delayed the question. He did not wish to take the responsibility; and he, by his refusal to vote on the report of that most infamous statute that ever disgraced the statute books of any country, gave countenance to the rebels and traitors. If his record is examined while he has been Senator of the United States, you will find all his influence and votes in favor of the oppression of colored men, denying them their rights, and sympathizing to a great extent with the Southern rebels. Did he not oppose the confiscation of the property of Southern rebels at the beginning of the war? I can cite his votes to show I am not doing him injustice, and I hope the gentleman will not bring forward any more of Judge Doolittle's claims."

LITERARY.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY, October, 1865. Ticknor & Fields. B. H. Ticknor, 823 Broadway, New York, Agent.

Mr. G. Reynolds opens this number with a dissertation on the compatibility of intellectual pursuits with health and long life. His data are not very widely gathered, but the article is a sensible one in its main purpose, and readable, though too exclamatory in style. The title, "Saints who have had Bodies," seems to be an adaptation from Col. Higginson's clever paper some years ago, "Saints and their Bodies." Mr. Trowbridge satisfies us all by leaving his "Coupon Bonds" in Reuben's hands. "The Author of Saul" is Mr. Charles Heavysege, and the author of this rather dull account of him is Mr. Bayard Taylor. "Needle and Garden" comes to an end, we believe, but our hopes may deceive us. Edmund Kirke begins and ends one of his liveliest war stories about "John Jordan," so good that we prefer to think it all true. The conclusion of Mr. Wasson's paper on Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship confirms the opinion we expressed of the beginning. It contains many just and a few original thoughts, but we must pronounce it confused and incomplete. Mr. Wasson's subject afforded him no proper opportunity for display of the most repulsive peculiarities of his style. We can fully believe he sympathizes in spirit with the spirit of the Wilhelm Meister, but it is a rude contrast between the lucid simplicity of the style of the book itself, and the contortions and obscurities of Mr. Wasson's. "Down the River" is a plantation tale by Harriet L. Prescott, rich in tropical coloring and unrestrained luxuriance of description. We quote, as one of the best specimens of Miss Prescott's vividness, the following interior view of a swamp in which her heroine gets lost:

"The hummocks on which they went were light, spongy masses of greenery. Their footprints filled at once behind them with clear dark water; there were glistening little pools everywhere about them; the ground was so covered with mats of brilliant blossoms that what appeared solid for the foot was oftenest the most treacherous place of all; and at last they stayed to take breath, planting themselves on the trunk of a fallen tree so twisted and twined with variegated vines and flowers, and deadly, damp fungi, that it was like some gorgeous dais-seat. Behind them and beside them was the darkness of the cypress groves. Before them extended a smooth floor, a wide, level region, carpeted in the most vivid verdure and sheeted with the sunshine, an immense bed of softest moss, underlaid with black bog, quaking at every step, and shaking a thousand diamonds into the light. Scarcely anything stirred through all the stretch; at some runnel along its nearer margin, where, upon one side, the more broken swamp recommenced, a rosy flamingo stood and fished, and, still remoter, the melancholy note of a bird tolled its refrain, answered by an echoing voice from some yet inner depth of forest far away. Save for this, the silence was as intense as the vastness and color of the scene, till it opened and resolved itself into one broad insect hum. The children took a couple of steps forward, under their feet the elastic sod sank and rose with a spurt of silver jets; they sprang back to their seats, and the shading tree above shook down a shining shower in rillets of silver rain.

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"Far ahead, the strong sun, piercing the marsh, drew up a vapor, that, blue as any distant haze in one

most exasperating kind. The flow of quiet and agreeable remark suddenly plunges into a platitudinous abyss of epithets and metaphors, making the astonished reader wonder whether he or the writer has lost his wits. We are told on one page, for example, that "We live in the eloquence of Demosthenes till we leap from our seats and shout in ecstacy at his prophecies of glory. We hang on the lips of Aristotle till he has bound us and all the world in a net-work of irrefragable reason and rich, nervous language. We fall enchanted into the arms of the sweetest and purest of mortals, and are ready to barter all the glories of the world for one hour on the breast of Virgil." In another we read of "the limpid floods of eloquence, the gushing torrents of philosophy from Demosthenes and Plato," or learn that for the student of Greek, "tenderly, softly, the waters rise higher and higher, gently embracing and toying with their unresisting prey, till he floats far off to sea, lulled to dreams of everlasting glory by the melodious ripple that murmurs ever more along the titanic waves of Homer." We can, by an effort, conceive of a state of mind in which such exuberant rhodomontade could be written; can even understand that before the frenzy of composition had cooled, the man who could write it might be capable of reading it before an intelligent assembly; but how any one could deliberately send it to the press, and in cold blood correct the proofs and find it good, passes comprehension. Style is personal, as Buffon has said, and the literary character of neither Cambridge is fairly to be brought in question by this exhibition; but it would seem that their highly critical atmosphere does less to curb the spirit than is commonly supposed, if, under the combined influences of both, such bombastic nonsense is possible. There are whole pages of this stuff.

In spite of all this the book is a very sensible book."

A Florence letter has the following: "In Modena a treasure has been discovered, in the form of an account-book, with double entries, kept by that most chivalrous and humorous of Accountants-General, Ariosto. The register commences with the year 1522, and terminates with the 15th of May, 1525, and is all in the handwriting of him who sang of Orlando, that most conspicuous and celebrated among the people, 'reputed to be very sensible, yet gone furiously mad from sheer love.' This *trouvaille* is bound in parchment, and contains 19 leaves, each of which bears the ducal stamp of the House of Este." Some letters in the handwriting of Ariosto have recently been disposed of in London.

With reference to the Talleyrand correspondence which had been tied up and put away for another quarter of a century, owing to the will of the late possessor, it is now said that the three large boxes enclosing the papers have been forwarded to England for safe keeping until the time shall arrive when they may be published. It is stated that all the important papers of Messrs. Guizot, Thiers, De Lamartine, De Montalembert, and Berryer are kept in England. The fact is suggestive of much that is not very pleasant to think about.

A writer in the American *Literary Gazette*—whom we suspect to be Mr. Allibone, author of the "Dictionary of Authors"—directs attention to the defective state of book-reference—that is to say, the difficulty of referring readily to any passages that may be cited. He says: "Any one who is constantly making researches among books is perpetually annoyed by the diversified methods of citation which prevail. We do not refer to the citation of the titles of books, although there is very great irregularity in that respect..... The ability to turn readily to any particular passage in a work adds vastly to the utility of the work..... If a sentence is cited from Hobbes, Locke, Barrow, Taylor, Bacon, or Gibbon, how is it to be readily found? We may be referred to a chapter, but a chapter with such voluminous writers is sometimes as long as an ordinary octavo. We may be referred to pages, but pages vary with each edition, and I may have six editions, and the reference may be to the seventh. Surely a reform is needed here." The author recommends the paragraph system of numeration, and says that the system could be readily adopted in a certain class of work without marring the page or breaking up the unity of composition. "The Bible, it is well-known, was first divided into verses by a printer whilst on his journey in a wagon from Marseilles to Paris. He found it difficult to refer readily to any passage, and forthwith set himself to divide and subdivide, and twenty years afterwards he found his plan very generally adopted.

"Less than eighteen years ago," writes a gentleman in San Francisco, "a period within the memory of many a youth now attending the public schools of this city, there were not probably 300 volumes of English books within the territory now comprising the State of California. To-day the bound books printed in the English language, and scattered through the limits of the State, cannot number less than 2,000,000 volumes. Almost every city, town, and village in the State has its public and circulating library, and the private dwellings are as well supplied with books as in the older States of the Union. Among the largest libraries outside San Francisco are the State Library at Sacramento, with 22,000 volumes; the Sacramento City Library, with 10,000 volumes; the Marysville City Library, with 5,000 volumes; the Stockton City Library, with 5,000; beside the College libraries at San Jose and Oakland, and a large number of 'circulating libraries' in the smaller towns and villages. In San Francisco we have the Mercantile Library, with 20,000 volumes; the Odd Fellow's Library, with 7,000; the Library of the Young Men's Christian Union, with 4,000 volumes, and smaller libraries belonging to the Masonic fraternity and the Pioneers' Association. A place of public resort called 'What Cheer House' has a library of 5,000 volumes in continual use; and the Sunday-school libraries number many thousand volumes. With the exception of antiquarian books, and the more costly scientific publications, the California libraries are quite as well supplied as those in the older States. The largest booksel'ing firms art those of Bancroft & Co., and A. Roman & Co. They are the representative booksellers of the Pacific; and the history of their houses is a history of the book-trade on this coast. Bancroft's stock comprises an immense assortment of stationery of all kinds, 6,000 reams of linen writing-papers being one of the items in this department. Of general literature, they have 40,000 volumes; school-books, 110,000; scientific, 16,000 volumes; law, 14,000 volumes; medical, 4,500 volumes; theological, 5,500 volumes; and of juvenile works, 10,000 separate publications." This firm only commenced business in 1856—nine years ago—and at the outset they occupied a small upper room of the great house which is at present entirely occupied by their affairs.

THE SOUTH AND THE NEGROES.

ALABAMA.

The following shows the kind and degree of progress in reconstruction which President Johnson is making in his rebel dominions generally, and Alabama in particular:

WASHINGTON, Oct. 1, 1865.

The Freedmen's Bureau on Saturday received the following telegram from Brig.-Gen. Swayne, Assistant-Commissioner of Freedmen at Montgomery, Ala.:

"The Convention to-day, by a vote of 59 to 16, requires the *judicial officers and magistrates of the State to continue to act as agents of this bureau*, for the administration of justice, under the regulations heretofore issued from this office, and republished by Gov. Parsons, until other legal provision is made."

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Friday, Sept. 29, 1865.

"The Convention to-day passed an ordinance, by a vote of 59 to 16, which practically *abolishes the right of admission of negro testimony in courts of justice in all difficulties arising between negroes themselves, or between whites and negroes.* This is to continue until the adjournment of the next Legislature, giving that body the privilege of making the organic law of Alabama."

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Saturday, Sept. 30, 1865.

"The Alabama State Convention adjourned to-day.

"A memorial was adopted, praying President Johnson to grant a *general amnesty and pardon to the Southern people.*

"A resolution was adopted declaring that whereas the people of Alabama *have given unmistakable evidence of their loyalty, they therefore pray that the President will withdraw the troops from the State.*

"The constitution as amended was adopted.

"The resolution of adjournment provides that the convention may be called together by the President of the convention on or before the 24th of September next."

NORTH CAROLINA.

As to the treatment of the negroes, here is a bit of evidence which comes, not from correspondents of Northern newspapers, but from North Carolina Justices of the Peace, appointed to office by Gov. Holden. We learn—but that is from a correspondent—that on the day referred to "the scene was a terrific one, the negroes trying to escape and the mob pursuing them." The Justices say:

"*To the proper Military Authorities of the United States:*

"We, the undersigned, Justices of the Peace for Cabarrus county, appointed by Gov. Holden, would respectfully represent:

"That from the acts of violence and outrages this day committed upon the negroes in the town of Concord, it being a day appointed by an officer of the Freedmen's Bureau to meet them here, we feel that civil authority is as yet inadequate for their protection and the peace of society.

"We, therefore, beg that a military force be at once sent here.

"JOHN FINK, J.P.
and Commissioner for Cabarrus.
"ALEX. BLACKWELDER, J.P.
"ALLISON FINK, J.P.
"NICOLAS COOK, J.P.
"WM. M. COLEMAN, Acting County Sol."

MISSISSIPPI.

AN IMPORTANT PROCLAMATION OF GOVERNOR SHARKEY.

JACKSON, Miss., Sept. 29, 1865.

Gov. Sharkey to-day issued a proclamation accepting the proposition of Col. S. Thomas, Assistant Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau of Mississippi, transferring the right of trying all cases in which the rights of freedmen are involved from the Freedmen's Bureau to civil authority, upon condition that the provisional government of that State will take for their mode of procedure the law now in force, except so far as these laws make a distinction on account of color. The proclamation declares that negroes shall be protected in person and property, thereby establishing the principles entitling negroes to sue and be sued, and making them competent witnesses according to the laws of evidence.

The *News*, in an editorial, denounces the act as an encroachment on the rights of the whites, and says it will be repudiated by the people.

OUR LOUISIANA CORRESPONDENCE.

NEW ORLEANS, Sept. 20th, 1865.

To the Editor of the Standard:

SIR,—The Hon. Sam. G. Daily departed this life on the 11th of this month, at his residence in this city. He served his country faithfully for the last six years as a member of Congress from Nebraska, his term closing with the last Congressional adjournment. He was a native of Indiana, and but forty-six years of age. At the special request of the late President Lincoln, Judge Daily accepted the appointment of Deputy Collector at this port, and he proved an efficient and conscientious officer. He was appreciated and respected at Washington and throughout the North, and his death, wherever he was known, will be regarded as a calamity.

Notwithstanding it was understood by Mr. Lincoln at the time of his appointment that he was to support the Free State Government of Louisiana, yet upon his arrival here, and upon his becoming thoroughly acquainted with the organization of the same, and the rotten and disloyal condition of its present executors, he speedily cut loose from all association and support, threw the whole concern overboard, and went in, heart and soul, to the support of the Radicals. As the writer knew him intimately, he feels that it is but justice to his memory to exonerate him from any collusion or association with the pro-slavery conservative element here or elsewhere, and to give him full credit for the honest and praiseworthy manner in which he made known his uncompromising Radicalism. He was thoroughly progressive, and did all in his power, whilst here, in writing to his former Congressional associates at the North, and in advocating anti-slavery principles, to further the cause of universal liberty. He believed that the true state of affairs in this section was not correctly understood at the North—that it was necessary for a person to be here upon the ground to comprehend the same; but that much could be done by correspondence and otherwise to educate Congress to a proper conception of affairs in the Southern States, and thereby bring about action on their part which would, in its Radical tendency, give justice and right to the truly loyal element of the South.

Through his extended influence and his official position, he was enabled to do much good in behalf of freedom, and his death can be looked upon as indeed a national calamity.

GEN. BEAUREGARD.

This rebel ex-general—this outlawry proclaimer of Gen. Butler—this endorser and sustainer of the infernal prison atrocities of the Southern Confederacy—has at last taken the amnesty oath, and intends appealing to the President for pardon. As the the newspapers here say, "This will be pleasing news to the citizens here, and already many are profiting by the example, and are taking the oath." Not that he or his followers are any more loyal than when with arms they combatted the Government; but they believe that they can, with the ballot, and political and social chicanery, accomplish what they have failed to do with the bayonet.

The General was arrested at midnight, not long since, by the military authorities, his house thoroughly searched, and himself borne off to prison; and it was generally believed that he was to be taken to Washington, and put upon trial for his complicity in the Prison atrocities; but interposition came from high sources, and he was unconditionally released. It seems *farcical* to punish such *tools* as Wirz, when such inhuman originators and dictators of crime as this Beauregard are permitted to go free. Had he his just deserts, he would be standing by the side of Wirz before the Military Commission to-day in Washington, there to receive the punishment due his atrocities.

CHARITY BALL FOR THE BENEFIT OF RETURNED CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS.

A grand charity ball for the benefit of returned Confederate soldiers, under the auspices of Gov. Wells and other official dignitaries of that sort, took place last Saturday evening at the Opera House in this city. Not a word is heard from these very unworthy excellencies about charity for Federal soldiers. No, indeed! their thoughts and actions run only in the Confederate channel. It is not popular to favor loyalty or anything smacking of the North, and would seriously damage the Governor's chances at the next election.

MAJ.-GEN. CARL SCHURZ

has been here, and taken notes of our political and other affairs, and will, if I mistake not, make such report as will astonish the powers that be, in this locality. A delegation of Radicals, headed by the Hon. B. F. Flanders, was warmly welcomed by him, and posted him thoroughly on the present condition of our State politics, intentions, and necessities. The General's known political antecedents and proclivities were not at all negatived by his official action here.

THE RADICAL CONVENTION,

to be held here next Monday (the 25th), will be an interesting assemblage, and an epoch in the history of the State. At the election last Saturday, such staunch standard-bearers as the Hon. Thos. J. Durant, B. F. Flanders, U. S. Supervising Special Agent for the Gulf Department; Rufus Waples, U. S. District Attorney for Louisiana, and others of the same character, were elected as delegates to the Convention; and that they will be heard from, and that this assemblage will make itself heard at Washington and throughout the country, there can be no doubt. The character of the parties who are marshalling their forces is a sufficient guaranty of that fact. They propose to nominate candidates for Congress, to elect them, and expect their admission upon the opening of the next session of our National Legislature.

COMPENSATION FOR SLAVES

is the cardinal doctrine of all conservative political aspirants here. It is the theme of their discourse, and they ring the changes upon it at at every available opportunity. I see that Forney, of the Washington *Chronicle*, attacks King Cutler, Senator elect from Louisiana, upon this doctrine, and claims that it should prevent his admission to the U. S. Senate. This is scarcely consistent with the *Chronicle's* support of President Johnson's reconstruction policy, as all of the members of Congress elected from the South under such policy are strong advocates of compensation for the slaves' emancipation. Nevertheless it is refreshing to learn that the dose is getting too bitter even for Forney to swallow, and we welcome him to our ranks, notwithstanding his past toadying to the powers that sit in authority at Washington.

CONFEDERATE JOURNALS.

The Southern *Star*, published in English, and the *Epoch*, in French, have lately burst upon the newspaper horizon, and are liberally supported by the pro-slavery element, which, by the way, is about all of the native white population of the city. Strange; but they claim to support President Johnson and his policy, whilst at the same time they preach nothing but pure and unmitigated secessionism. J. O. Nixon, ex-rebel colonel, launches next week his journal, the *Crescent*—another of the same stripe—so that we bid fair to have quite as many rebel organs as we need.

THE NATIVE GUARDS.

The 73d and 74th Regiments U. S. Colored Infantry, formerly known as the 1st and 2d Regiments of Native Guards, organized under Gen. Butler, and the first colored soldiers raised in the country, are ordered here for mustering out of the service. These regiments were made up of the free colored citizens of New Orleans, and were officered by men of their own race. Gen. Banks gained an unenviable notoriety in removing these officers from their commands on account of their color. They have made a glorious record at Port Hudson, Pascagoula, West Louisiana, and Mobile, and if our Government intends retaining negro soldiers in the service, it could find none more worthy or deserving than these veterans. It would be but a just tribute to their bravery and excellence, and would be accepted by the colored people of the State as an honor and a compliment.

COLORED TROOPS

are still retained in garrisons throughout the State, and one regiment is doing duty in the city for the Freedmen's Bureau. The people have been accustomed to the sable soldier, and, as long as he holds the bayonet, accept it as of the new order of things; but abolish military authority, and the colored man who has served in his country's cause will be made an especial object of hatred and secessionism.

THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU

is looked upon by all who earnestly desire the welfare of the negro as an incubus upon their cause—as an impediment rather than an aid to their advancement. It works feebly throughout the interior, and has but little moral force in the community. The military oppose and do not earnestly support its action, as they are ordered to do. Remove this guardianship! Let the negro make his own bargains, and be his own master, and his cause would be very materially benefited. He considers it a poor compliment to his intelligence to say to him—as this Bureau does by its actions—that he is incompetent to make his contracts and provide for his own sustenance. No, the negro has steadiness enough to provide for himself, and only needs equality before the law. Give him the same rights that you give his white brother, and there is no doubt of his success and happiness.

VIATOR.

THE BLACK CODE OF GEORGIA.

To the Editor of the Standard:

SIR,—Senator Sumner has just and justly declared that emancipation is not complete as long as the Black Code exists. Its enormities are comparatively unknown to the people of the North. Nor does it seem to be known that, although slavery is dead, its deadly spawn of laws still lives. Abolitionists can do no better service to the Slave than picture the Black Code as it is, in every state. I subjoin my quota of the work for the times.

Let us examine the code of a single State. It would be unfair to select South Carolina, for her barbarism is of great age and notorious, and one naturally expects no good to come out of her. But Georgia is one of the least cruel of the Slave States. At Savannah and Augusta, a few years ago, the public auction of slaves was prohibited by law. Georgia was "the Yankee State of the South"—proud of that name before she bowed to the yoke of Carolina. Her code will be found to be one of the most humane of all.

When Gen. Hood was amusing himself in carrying out the programme of Mr. Davis—tearing down bridges and tearing up railroads—Lwas in Atlanta, where Sherman was resting his army for its great march to the sea. In the absence of a higher style of literature, I carefully studied the code of Georgia, and made the notes that follow for future use. This seems to be the crisis when they can be of practical importance, and I send them, therefore, as they were written at the time.

I.

I have before me "The Code of the State of Georgia, prepared by R. H. Clark, T. R. R. Cobb, and D. Irwin. Atlanta, Georgia: Published by John H. Seals, Crusader Book and Job Office. 1861." It is a legal octavo of 1,058 pages, which has probably not yet found its way into the law libraries of the North, as it is a Confederate document, and has been published since the system of State exchange was stopped by the civil war.

It is a Confederate official publication, and yet the very first section of the "Preliminary Provisions" seems to deny the fundamental theory of the rebel political philosophy. For, it declares that

"The laws of this State shall be thus graduated in reference to their obligation: 1st, The Constitution of the Confederate States; 2d, Treaties entered into by the Federal (!) Government within the scope of their power; 3d, Laws of the Confederate States made in pursuance of the Constitution; 4th, The Constitution of this State; 5th, The Statutes of this State; 6th, Such portions of the Common, Civil, Canon, and Statute Laws of England as were usually in force in the province of Georgia prior to the 14th May, 1776, which were applicable to the condition and habits of the people so far as the same are consonant with our form of Government, and are not repealed, modified, or superseded by the provisions of this code; 7th, The customs of any trade or business shall be binding only when it is of such universal practice as to justify the conclusion that it became, by implication, a part of the contract."

I have quoted the whole section to show that it is a distinct repudiation of the rebel theory that supreme allegiance is due to the State. The recognition of Federal treaties, although not noted in the table of errata, is probably the result of the same blunder which in the Confederate Episcopal Prayer-Book, in its prayer at sea, preserves a petition for the President of the United States.

WHO ARE WHITES?

"Persons having one-eighth, or more, of negro or African blood in their veins are not white persons in the meaning of this Code." (§50.)

STATUS OF MOTHER AND CHILD.

"The status of every person in this State, upon the question of freedom is determined by the status of his or her mother." (57.)

The substitute of the word father for mother in this section would have liberated over half a million of slaves; but it would have stopped the traffic which consists of the sale of children by their fathers.

NEGRO RECRUITING IN GEORGIA.

"Free men of color above the age of 16 years, unless belonging to the Fire Department, shall be subject to the call of any volunteer military organization, if there be any in the town or city of their residence, in the capacity of musician, pioneer, mechanic, or servant, and if there is no such voluntary organization, then to the militia in one of the aforesaid capacities, and they shall be entitled to the usual wages for the practice of such occupations." (§995.)

NEGRO SEAMEN.

Chap. III. (Part 1, Title 15) is devoted to "Free negroes landing from vessels, and herein of free negro seamen." It is too long for quotation, but it decrees that all vessels bringing free negroes into any port of Alabama, unless they are seamen, or necessary to navigation, shall forfeit $2,000 for each person recoverable by libel or otherwise on the ship, or by proceedings against master, or both—one half the fine to be paid to the informer, the other half to go to the educational fund of the county—the white offender also being liable to imprisonment for not longer than six months.

Masters of vessels bringing free negroes as seamen are required to report them, and obtain passes for them immediately on their arrival in port, it being optional with the authorities to give or refuse such passes. Vessels from Florida and South Carolina are exempted from this obligation.

Free negroes landing without such passes are to be imprisoned till the sailing of the vessel, and the masters fined one thousand dollars for each person so offending, the money to be paid into the city treasury. If the master of the vessel refuses or neglects to pay the expenses of a free negro so imprisoned, and to carry him away, he shall be fined five hundred dollars and be put in the common jail not more than three months.

National vessels are excepted from the operation of these laws.

Negroes shipwrecked or driven by stress of weather or accidents to Alabama ports are allowed a month to leave, "but the authorities shall take proper measures to prevent communication by said persons with colored persons."

THE PATROL.

Chap. V. (same Part and Title) is devoted to "the government of slaves and free negroes." Article I. contains the Patrol laws.

This patrol system was the nucleus of the present rebel army, and greatly aided to foster the military spirit, and afford the training which so speedily made the insurgents formidable as a belligerent power. It was a distinctive characteristic of the South. Nothing at all like it exists in the Northern States.

Three commissioners of patrol in each militia district were appointed by the justices of the inferior courts annually—in November—whose duty was to make out a list of all persons liable to patrol duty, and organize from them two or more companies of not more than ten men each, to whom a separate division of the district was assigned. Each person enrolled in this service was required to keep always in readiness, and carry with him, on service, one good gun or pistol, and at least six rounds of cartridges.

All white males from sixteen to sixty, unless specially exempted, were required to perform patrol duty. In this practical operation it proved, I was long ago informed, an efficient means of protecting the slaveholders by the non-slaveholding class, on whom all the burden of the system fell, for special exemptions could readily enough be obtained by the wealty citizens.

The duties of the patrols are thus defined in § 1,363:

"The patrols shall examine the plantations in their divisions at such times as their discretion may dictate, but at least one day or night in fifteen; shall take up all slaves they see off their masters' premises, if they know them, and when they do not know them and they are not on such premises; all slaves without the fences or outside the limits of an incorporated town, who have not some permission in writing to be absent, or some other writing or evidence to show the reasonableness of the absence, or who have not some white person in company, or who can give no good account of themselves. They shall correct such slaves by whipping with a switch, whip, or cowhide, not exceeding twenty lashes, and in such a manner as not to injure or permanently mark his body. If the slave is insolent or unruly after such chastisement, the patrol shall carry him to his master or employer, and all further whipping shall be in his presence. If he refuses to allow him whipped, he shall be carried to a justice of the peace, and all further whipping shall be under his direction."

In the prosecution of these Legréan "duties," they were empowered to examine all negro passes, examine all negro houses for offensive weapons and ammunition, "pursue any fugitive slave who avoids them by hiding or running into any dwelling, or if they hear of any such being harbored in any dwelling of any white person, they shall first ask leave to search of the person in charge, if any, or to deliver up said slave, and if said person shall refuse to grant either, they, if they have seen such slave enter, or know that he is there, may enter therein and take him."

"On finding any weapons, or accoutrements, or ammunition in any negro house, or on the person, or in the possession of any slave or free person of color, contrary to law, such patrols may seize and take away the same, and, after legally forfeiting it, appropriate it to his own use."

Any persons opposing patrol companies, or members of them, in the discharge of those duties, were liable to a fine of $100 for the first offence, and, for the second, to fine and imprisonment for not exceeding sixty days.

These are the legal requisites of a slave's pass:

"A permit to a slave should specify the place or places where he is allowed to visit, and the length of time he is permitted to be absent. No permit shall extend over a greater length of time than one month. A slave at the house of his wife, by permission of her master, needs no permit. A free person of color needs no permit in the day-time."

Section 1,367 (this chapter) is quite cool for a region so far South as Georgia. It reads:

"Nothing in this code shall be construed to deny to any master the right, in time of invasion or insurrection, in good faith, to arm his trusty slave for the defence of himself or his property!"

I had a talk with an old negro, yesterday, which furnishes a commentary on this section:

"Dey talked ov making de cullud people soljers in dis town, 'fore de Yankees come. But dey was afeered to trust dem. Yoo-o, golly, if dey had, dey'd uv ketch it! * * * 'Fore you duns come, wherever you see de cullud folks talkin', you hear um say, 'I wish my massa ud come 'long. Do you knows who dey means by our massa?"

I didn't know.

"Dey means you uns!"

So "the master," by this provision of Georgia's code, has rightful authority, in the "time of invasion and insurrection," to arm his "trusty slaves!" And he is doing it all along his line of supplies!

The last section of the patrol law provides that all its provisions shall apply to free persons of color.

Thus, by this system of patrols, the whole free population were made slave-hunters and slave-whippers; accustomed to military rule and the practice of carrying and using arms; demoralized as men and disciplined as soldiers, both.

No white man was required to have a pass. It was the badge of slavery. Now, "missus," "young missus," and "mass'r," when at home, are often arrested by the peremptory "*Halt!*" of a negro, sometimes a former slave, and compelled to show him *their* pass. This has repeatedly occurred at Dalton. "*Halt* is the sweetest word I ever said," was the comment of a negro soldier, on describing an occurrence of this nature.

This patrol system has not been sufficiently noticed in descriptions of Southern life. Its expenses—in time, guns, ammunition, fines, and office-labor—to say nothing of its ruinous influence on the morals of the patrol himself—have never been footed up and placed on the debtor page, in estimates of the failure of slavery as a system of labor or a social institution.

The patrols were not the only men who were legally bound to protect the "slave property" of the ruling class. Justices of the peace, in addition to the duty, already noted, of superintending the lashing of negroes at large, were obliged to perform other services, and to detail the general public on special occasions for the purpose of keeping the slave within the limits of his very limited liberty.

For example, here are three sections of Article II. (Part 1, Title 15) of the Code of Georgia, copied in full and in their order, lest any one, seeing how inhuman in spirit and degrading in character they are, should suppose that I misapprehended their intent:

"§ 1,369. No congregation or company of slaves, exceeding seven males in number shall, under any pretence, except for divine worship, assemble themselves outside of any incorporated town, and then they must be under the control and presence of as many as five citizens of the neighborhood, except slaves who may assemble on their master's premises, when he or his overseer is present. Other slaves, by their master's permission in writing, may also join in such assemblies.

"§ 1,370. Every justice of the peace, upon his knowledge or information of others, may go in person or by warrant directed to any officer or private person, or both, and command the assistance of other persons, to disperse any assembly of negroes which may disturb, endanger the safety, or excite the apprehension, of the community. Every negro taken at such assemblages may, by special order of said justices, be corrected, without trial, by receiving on bare back not more than twenty lashes, with the instrument (switch, whip, and cowhide) allowed to be used by patrols, and in the same manner.

"§ 1,371. Such officers or persons may be also specially empowered by a justice of the peace of the district, under warrant, to do whatever the patrol may do, and to bring offenders to a speedy trial."

These provisions made the entire population tributary to the slave power.

Any officer refusing to issue such warrants, or any person refusing to assist an officer, was fined $5 for every offence.

But a still larger "liberty to larrup a negro," as Southern rights have been defined, was granted by the very chapter we are reviewing.

Section 1,374 is in these words:

"Any person may take up any negroes that may be found out of the plantation or place where they belong, or incorporated town where they reside, acting unlawfully or under suspicious circumstances; and if found with an offensive weapon, shall take the same away; and if the negro is insolent or refuses to answer, may whip said negro as the patrol may."

Section 1,376 declares that it shall be unlawful for any church, society, or other body, or any persons, to grant any license or other authority to any slave or free person of color to preach, or exhort, or otherwise officiate in church matters.

Masters, overseers, or employers of slaves were liable to a fine of $500 for permitting their people to carry arms, hold illegal meetings—that is, assemblages of over seven persons, or feast unlawfully, whatever that may be: one-half of the fine to go to the informer, and the other half to the educational fund.

This granting of fines accruing from violations of patrol and slave laws, is a noticeable feature in the Georgia code. Either there were few violations of these laws, or the funds were misapplied; for the ignorance of the lower classes here is amazing.

Although there are separate chapters of laws relating to slaves and free persons of color, the negro makes his way into many others. Thus, in the chapter on fishing, the last section declares that it shall be lawful for all patrols and all civil officers, at all times, to visit and search all vessels, covered flats, or arks, and boats engaged in fishing, or trading illegally with slaves, or disseminating incendiary publications on any river in this State, and to cause offenders therein found against any of the laws of Georgia to be committed or bound over to answer therefor.

In Part II., or the Civil code, there are some very plain and very harsh principles laid down.

Thus:

"A slave is one over whose person, liberty, labor, and property another has legal control.—§ 1,599.

"All negroes and mulattoes are deemed, and are hereby declared to be, *prima facie* slaves, and it rests upon those alleging freedom to prove it.—§ 1,600.

"All slaves are chattels personal, and to be governed by the same laws, except in cases expressely provided by statute, or where the nature of the property requires a modification of the ordinary rule.—§ 1,602.

"While the slave is under the dominion of his master, third persons have no right of dominion over him, further than the laws give such right for police purposes.—§ 1,604."

This takes away all right of a husband over his wife, if she be a slave, and over his children; for another section declares that

"The children of all female slaves shall follow the condition of their mother, and shall belong to the person holding title to the mother at the time of their birth. If there be several estates in the mother, the same shall attach to the offspring.

"A slave cannot acquire or hold property. All his acquisitions belong to his master. Gifts to him, accompanied by delivery, accrue to the benefit of the master; without delivery, they cannot be enforced by law. §1,605.

"All property held by a slave, with the consent of his master, is subject to the will of his master at any time." §1,665.

Does it seem credible that these axioms were laid down only three years since, and are still in force in Georgia, everywhere outside our lines, or that there are persons in the North who really desire to purchase Reconstruction at the price of perpetuating this satanic system?

Section 1,608 gives free colored people the right of selling themselves into perpetual slavery! They must do it "voluntarily," and "the sale must be made openly, at a regular term of the inferior court of the county!"

Section 1,609 forbids the importation of negroes from their native land or a foreign country, allowing it from States of the Confederacy, but providing that in case such slaves are illegally imported they shall be—set free? restored to their natural rights? Not a bit of it; but "placed under the control of the executive of this State, and sold by his order under such regulations as he may prescribe;" one-fourth of the proceeds to be given to the informer, the balance to be put into the public treasury! There is only one chance for the negroes to be saved from this cruel doom, and it is stated in these words:

"If, prior to said sale, the American Colonization Society shall voluntarily propose to take possession of such negroes, and at their own expense colonize the same in Africa, the Governor is authorized to deliver the same to them."

FREE NEGROES,

according to this code (§ 1,612) "are entitled to no right of citizenship, except such as are given them by law;" yet "all laws enacted in reference to slaves, and in their nature applicable to free persons of color, shall be construed to include them unless specially exempted;" their immigration into the State is prohibited; free colored natives, if they leave the States, and reside six months in any free State, are not permitted to return; all free colored people, whether as intelligent as Fred. Douglass or of ordinary intellect, are obliged to have guardians, their names, age, parentage, and other particulars of their lives, being noted in a public registry, kept by a class of officials called ordinaries. These and other regulations caused the colored freedman to feel that he was under the ban, and occupied a position of hopeless inferiority in social life to the poorest and most ignorant of the dominant race.

These "guardians receive for their services the same compensation as the guardians of minor children." They are removable, at the request of the free person, and at the discretion of the ordinary. It is through this guardian that a free colored person sues and is sued, contracts and is contracted with. When judgments are rendered against the guardian, the property of the ward only is held to answer; if he have no property, he is bound out until his labor pays the debt. Free colored persons cannot hold slaves in Georgia. They can hold any kind of real and personal estate through their guardians; but "any attempt, directly or indirectly, by trust or otherwise, to secure the legal, equitable, or any beneficial interest in slaves to a free person of color, shall be void, and the whole of the title to such slave shall be forfeited to the State to be recovered by the escheator of the county, one half to the informer and the other to the educational fund of the county."

In Louisiana many of the wealthy planters are mulattoes. It is so everywhere in the French colonies. The French did not enslave their colored bastards, as our Southern chivalry almost always do; but educated them, gave them property, the right of holding the blacks in bondage, and *then* ostracized them socially. *Mais nous avons change tout cela!*

JAMES REDPATH.

THE WISCONSIN RADICALS.

A CONVENTION OF REPUBLICANS WHO BELIEVE IN REPUBLICANISM.

THE WEST SPEAKING FOR NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

THE Radical Republicans of Wisconsin held a Convention at Janesville, Sept. 27, to repudiate the milk-and-water platform which Senator Doolittle and his recreant associates had constructed for the party. It was largely attended. Among its eminent members were Hon. T. O. Howe, U. S. Senator; Gen. J. H. Paine, S. M. Booth, and Col. C. R. Gill, Republican candidate for Attorney-General. They passed these resolutions:

Resolved, That in our opinion it is incompatible with the honor of the nation, after having called in the negro to aid us to abandon him in the hour of that victory which his efforts helped to secure; that to brand him as unworthy the right of suffrage is to deliver him, disarmed and helpless, into the hands of his enemies; and that, therefore, it is competent and right, and in accordance with that national faith which is virtually pledged to him for his protection, to impose on the States recently engaged in rebellion, as a farther condition of their return to full fellowship in the Union, that in fixing the qualifications for the exercise of the elective franchise in their several constituencies they make no discrimination against any person on account of race or color.

Resolved, That whatever the theories of parties or individuals in regard to the legal status of the late rebel States, they are practically placed by President Johnson under the control of the Federal Government, and should not be reinvested with their full rights as States, or in equality with other States of the Union, except upon such terms as the Federal Government may impose; that in appointing Provisional Governors instructed to call State Conventions, in prescribing the qualifications of electors, and insisting upon the abolition of slavery as a condition precedent to their restoration to civil rights, the President acknowledges that they are not now States in equality with the loyal States.

Resolved, That as Congress decides upon the qualifications of its own members and upon the admission of States into the Union, and is accordingly a branch of the Government, therefore Congress, in conjunction with the President, and not the President alone, is the proper authority to prescribe to the seceded States terms for their restoration to the Union; that all the loyal people of the South, and not the rebels and traitors who have sought to overthrow the Government, are entitled to a voice in reconstructing their State constitutions and reorganizing their State governments.

Each resolution was received with enthusiastic applause. They were then taken up *seriatim* and adopted. On the first resolution a standing vote was demanded, and every person in the room rose at once to his feet in the affirmative.

The speeches were in similar tone. Gen. Paine said:

"Our debt of gratitude to the colored man is great, if not greater than we can pay. Is it anything more than just that when we place upon the colored man the responsibilities of citizenship, we should also give him its privileges? In giving him these we merely restore to him what, according to our Declaration of Independence, the great Creator originally gave him. (Applause.) Judge Doolittle talks of a war of races at the South, as a consequence of granting the right of suffrage to the negro. He forgets the history of St. Domingo, where colored men, deprived of their natural rights, rose, slaughtered their oppressors, and established a government which is still in being. They made themselves free. The danger at the South of a war between the races—between the white and colored—is only as a consequence of an attempt to longer deprive them of their natural rights. (Applause.) These restored rebels of whose welfare and preferences some of these gentlemen would be so tender, are unworthy of our confidence, of the confidence of the President or the Administration. (Applause.) They have murdered prisoners after they had surrendered. They have slaughtered thousands of our soldiers in pens where they were crowded purposely to die of filth and starvation. We cannot trust these men. As well might we trust Satan to take the government of Heaven. (Applause.) If we allow them any rights at all we must have a counterpoise in the votes of the colored population there. That is the only security we can have, to balance with the loyal colored men's votes those of these restored fiends." (Applause.)

Senator Howe, after urging upon the convention to secure the ratification by the people of the State law granting suffrage to the colored citizens of Wisconsin as an act of justice to them, declares:

"I want to do this act of justice for another reason, different from anything I have yet alluded to. The men for whom I am pleading are like millions of others, not in this State, who have for years and generations been held in bondage and treated as chattels. I am told they have been emancipated, but I am waiting to get official information upon that point. (Laughter.) If they have been emancipated what is to become of them, and what are you going to do with them? ..... They were owned almost entirely by the men who made that war and carried it to the bitter end—an end most bitter to them, and rather bitter to us. As we know, these men have been emancipated simply because they have ceased to be the property of their former owners. I say again, I will wait for official information upon that point. If you mean by emancipation that they have simply ceased to be property, I must be allowed to say that does not come up to my notions of emancipation. In the States somebody has got to wield the powers of government, and that power has to be wielded by the white population, by the men who formerly owned these colored people, and by them exclusively, or by the colored people to the exclusion of the whites, or by both. Whenever the authority and prerogatives of States are given to these Southern countries it is your duty to see that the colored people have a share in such authority, so that they may be able to protect themselves in the enjoyment of their rights. (Loud cheers.) Give these men to the exclusive control of their former masters and what will be the result?" The speaker then sketched the perils that would result from such a policy, where they would be oppressed by laws that would prevent them from leaving a certain district, and be subjected to other disabilities which would, in effect, reduce them to a state worse than slavery, where they would have no claim upon their masters, except for su h wages as he should choose to give, and no power to leave him for another.

On the question of State Rights, Senator Howe says:

"I have heard it said that we have nothing to say about it, that we have nothing to do with it, that it is a question for reference to the internal policy of these States, each of which has a right to determine the quesof suffrage for itself. It is a fact Wisconsin has the right under the constitution, and so every State has the right under the constitution, to define the basis of its suffrage without interference from other States; but don't trot out South Carolina and Virginia and Mississippi to me as American States. (Tremendous cheers.) I am not here to discuss a question of law, but to assert a fact; and I tell you as a matter of fact that the States of Virginia, South Carolina, and Mississippi have ceased to exist. (Loud cheers.) Not because of the Ordinance of Secession; Oh! you cannot kill a State by an Ordinance of Secession. It takes more than an Ordinance of Secession to kill a State. They say a State cannot be killed. I might be made to believe it if I had not seen it done."

And he concludes with this appeal:

"Do not reject the appeal of these colored men down in the South, for equal rights. (Cheers.) If we do so what shall we answer? I know what I shall answer. I cannot shut up. (Applause.) But if I keep my mouth open, you see how idle it will be. I want you to go to work in the cause of justice here, and your representatives will feel strong. Talk of justice elsewhere, where it is of such vital importance to one race or the other, but there it is of momentous consequence to both races. I am not speaking in the interest of the colored race alone. It is not the colored race alone. It is for the interest of the white race there, not to have the power to stand upon the necks of those people any longer. They have done so too long already, and their own damnation is written all over them in consequence. Let us talk then, for their own good, as well as for the good of the race on whose necks they have stood for so long a

Miscellaneous Department.

THE ENGLISH LABORER'S SONG.

"We plough and sow, we're so very, very low
That we delve in the dirty clay,
Till we bless the plain with golden grain,
And the vale with the fragrant hay.
Our place we know, we're so very low,
'Tis down at the landlord's feet;
We're not too low the grain to grow,
But too low the bread to eat.

Down, down we go, we're so very, very low,
To the hell of the deep sunk mines,
But we gather the proudest gems that glow
When the crown of a despot shines.
And whene'er he lacks, upon our backs
Fresh loads he deigns to lay;
WE'RE FAR TOO LOW TO VOTE THE TAX,
BUT NOT TOO LOW TO PAY.

We're low, we're low, mere rabble we know,
But at our plastic power,
The mould at the lording's feet will grow
Into palace, church, and tower.
Then prostrate fall in the rich man's hall,
And cringe at the rich man's door;
We're not too low to build the wall,
But too low to tread the floor.

We're low, we're low, we're very, very low,
Yet from our fingers glide
The silken flow, and the robes that glow
Round the limbs of the sons of pride.
And what we get and what we give
We know, and we know our share;
We're not too low the cloth to weave,
But too low the cloth to wear.

We're low, we're low, we're
And yet when the [illegible] very, very low,
The thrust of [illegible] trumpets ring,
Thro' [illegible] poor man's arm will go
We[illegible]e heart of the proudest king.
[illegible]e low, we're low, our place we know,
We're only the rank and file;
We're not too low to fight the foe,
But too low to touch the spoil.

THE SIN OF LIGHT READING.

From the Saturday Review.

THERE is a sad piece of news just come to the surface for the Archbishop of York, and all the other serious persons who hold the reading of sensation novels to be one of the most pestilent practices of a confessedly disreputable age. It appears that a company was started for the purpose of lending people books to read. But, unfortunately, all hope of a dividend lay in the anticipation that the books which people would ask for would be serious books, which are less expensive in the first place, and in the second, like Sam Weller's muffins, are uncommonly filling at the price. A reader gets through his three-volume novel with a rapidity that is most unwelcome. A stout volume of sermons, on the other hand, or an elaborate history lasts him perhaps ten times as long. A good novel draws him along, while, with a more valuable book, the process is exactly reversed. So the hopes of the shareholders were somehow not fulfilled. With the pertinacity of the daughters of the leech, people insisted on demanding three-volume novels. History and philosophy slept the sleep of the just upon their shelves, while fiction had as many votaries as there were subscribers to the library. And it was not fiction of that exhilarating kind which even Dr. Thomson thinks an allowable refreshment. The subscribers did not care for those admirable stories which draw their interest from the "larger chapter of homely sympathies"—stories of "pious mothers training little children, of secret prayers offered up to God in the silence of the night for those children, of hints and helps to duty strewn in the path of those children continually." For all this, an evil generation with a vitiated palate has no liking. They prefer the doings of grown-up people to those of little children, and pious mothers have to make way for questionable wives. Hints and helps to duty are as a drug in the market. There is a much more lively demand for hints and helps to break the Ten Commandments than for encouragement to keep them. A single fact will serve to illustrate the frivolity and light-mindedness of modern readers. Ten copies of Mr. Froude's History more than met the demand, while one hundred and seventy copies of Miss Braddon's *Only a Clod* barely sufficed to keep the crowd of readers at bay. The taste for novels may, therefore, be reckoned as more than seventeen times stronger than the taste for history. This distressing but instructive fact is clearly one not to be too lightly passed over. That a large body of readers should take a livelier interest in a man who is supposed to come in for a windfall of thirty thousand a year, but who in truth never lived at all and whose thirty thousand a year is mere moonshine, than in a real King of England and six real wives, with real incidents to match, must seem incredible to a lover of Social Science. Such a state of things is really most disheartening to the members of that enthusiastic Association. It shows a systematic absence of reverence for facts and figures. When one thinks of the number of papers that might have been written and read in the time and with the attention given to this imaginary man with his imaginary thirty thousand a year, of the quantity of figures that might have been amassed about sewage and female labor, of the new views and unspeakable crotchets that might have been brought to the birth, it fills the mind with despair of the prospects of the race. How can the species ever be regenerated in the face of this infatuated army of novel-readers? How can the eternal rights of woman gain recognition when those who ought to be fighting the battle are lingering with reckless interest over the fortunes of an imaginary heroine like the young lady in Miss Braddon's novel, whose paltry merits are summed up in saying that she is very pretty and gracious and accomplished? The whole book from beginning to end does not contain a single idea in support of the good cause, for the women are pleasant and good-looking, and the men are not brutal and despicable tyrants. Nay, the moral of the story positively tends in the most objectionable direction. The heroine is such a poor creature, so lost to all sense of duty to her sex and her species, as literally to run after a husband who had left her under some mistaken notion. If Miss Braddon had made her, by her desolate hearth, tranquilly compose a paper on emigration or on the advantages of a female printer's devil, and allow her husband to go to Hong Kong or where he would, a great lesson might have been taught. After all, there is one good point about the novel which has condemned Mr. Froude's History to retirement, and Social Science should not omit to put it to the authoress' credit. When the happy couple are once more united at the end of the third volume, they hasten to make arrangements for getting Mr. Merivale's Roman History out of the circulating library and otherwise improving their minds. If Miss Braddon had been so fortunate as to name Mr. Froude instead, those ten volumes might have instantly been demanded, the company saved, and the shareholders enjoyed a dividend. The only consolation that we can offer to the disconsolate enthusiast for the study of facts rather than fiction is the common opinion that Mr. Froude's Henry VIII. is quite as imaginary and non-existent a personage as the hero of *Only a Clod*.

But to the people who are so dreadfully in earnest about life, and will not admit the existence of such a thing as a trifle, there is a difference in the degrees of noxiousness amongst novelists. Swindling, and poisoning, and bigamy are not pleasant or profitable objects of contemplation, but at least they have the merit of exhibiting strength of purpose and vigor of execution; and these are qualities which the earnest school protests we can never have enough of. Aurora Floyd, who soundly thrashes her groom; Sir Perceval Glyde, who incarcerates his sane wife in a lunatic asylum, and burns the parish register; the Italian Count in *Abbot's Cleve*, who deliberately puts his wife to death, though her death means toil and poverty for himself—all the heroes of this stamp are illustrations of some, at all events, of the virtues which make Frederick the Great a genuine hero. They are people who will not flinch from the vigorous execution of their designs and the prompt chastisement of their foes, simply because the rest of the world look on their designs and their promptitude with disapproving eyes. This, it seems, is the prime title of any man to be considered heroic. Although, therefore, it is preferable that we should learn this admirable lesson in the records of fact rather than in the unsubstantial inventions of fiction, still it is better that weak brethren should be induced to sympathize with selfish violence even in a mere novel than not at all. Of course it is to be lamented that the appetite of so many readers for historical facts is so uncommonly weak, and that they can only bring their minds to the study of the imaginary doings of a fictitious set of people. But babes must have milk. Those who do not care enough about history to sit at the feet of Mr. Froude, and learn that, after all, there is a good deal to be said for Henry VIII. and his lusts and his treatment of his various wives, may have an almost equally improving instructor in Mr. Wilkie Collins. Henry, when his wife became inconvenient to him, had her head cut off; while Sir Perceval Glyde, not being able to cut off his wife's head, put her out of sight in an asylum. Henry's excellent principle that it is possible for a man to get tired of his wife, and that in such a case it is right for him to make away with her and to take another, is not illustrated in fiction on so large a scale as in fact; but the bigamy of the modern novel, in a small way, may be said to come to much the same thing. Or there is the other and more comprehensive doctrine of modern historians, that if a man wants a thing which does not happen to be his own, then, if he is a true hero with insight and veracity, he will do his best to seize and keep what he wants. Those who have the requisite strength of mind and taste for history will hasten to the library and call for Mr. Carlyle's last book. But those others whose minds are too loosely put together to bear the weight of grave study may be excused for learning to *Paul Clifford*, or *Jack Sheppard*, or *Oliver Twist*. Frederick the Great appropriated his neighbors' provinces. The Artful Dodger appropriated his neighbors' watches and pocket-handkerchiefs. The same beautiful simplicity of principle, and the same unfaltering resolution in action, appear in the hero of romance as in the hero of history. So there is still balm in Gilead; and anybody who is penetrated by despair at the thought of the victory of fiction over fact may find some consolation in reflecting that some modern historians have won a decided victory over the novelists, even in the novelist's own line.

As we have said, however, all novels are not alike in the eyes of the truly earnest. Stories of crime and violence may have imparted to them some of the characteristics of history. If there is plenty of action and striking incident in them, they must in some sort illustrate the fashionable moral lesson of the time, that action is the one thing for which life is worth having, the rightness or wrongness of the action being comparatively immaterial. It is the story of mere feeling which the earnest man and the man of social science are so unwilling to tolerate. Analysis of moods, and motives, and passions, is to them mere rubbish. Provided you get your work in the world well done, what is the use of worrying yourself as to the states of mind which preceded or accompanied the work? Such introspection, and perplexity, and wonderings about duty are as "the tearful wranglings of a dyspeptic tailor." To people thus intent on outside facts, and thus contemptuous of feelings which are equally facts, only that they are not outside, the writings of Mr. Trollope, for instance, must be a sore trial and vexation. The curious trains of reasoning which he pursues in the minds of young ladies and young gentlemen are, in their eyes, as incomprehensible and as frivolous as the most elaborate of Chinese puzzles. The careful statement of every little thought, and doubt, and anxiety which could possibly enter the mind of a young lady on the point of accepting, or refusing, or jilting a suitor, seems to them as strange a perversion of ingenuity and waste of precious time as the execution of one of those amazing works of art which figure in colored chalk on the London pavements. Then when, after the careful statement about the young lady, we are carried on through a second and a third analysis, equally careful, of the doubts and anxieties of the young lady's mother, and of the doubts and anxieties of the lover, perhaps even of two lovers—why the whole book becomes a downright abomination of desolation. Besides all this, there are the long dialogues and the long love-letters, without a single "fact" in either from beginning to end. The other day, a writer in what is jocosely termed the leading journal, drew a fearful picture of the occupation of the croupier at a German gaming establishment, and then, being unable any longer to repress his feelings, exclaimed—"*To think of a man made in God's image leading an existence like that!*" With equal pathos and justice, the earnest people shudder to think of a man made in God's image rising early and taking rest late, year after year, in order to write love-letters—and not his own love-letters even, but those of young ladies who never existed. And again, to think of people, equally made in God's image, spending hours and hours in reading those letters, and in ascertaining what sort of a dress the lady had on when she wrote them, and what sort of a writing-table she used! The worst of this very touching reflection is, that it is every bit as suitable to most actions of human life. We may be just as horrified and disgusted to think of anybody made in God's image troubling himself with the pattern of his coat, or the cleanliness of his linen; or caring whether his foot is well or ill dressed, or reading history, or practicing with dumb bells, or venturing to prefer claret to port. We are not sure even whether, on this principle, the fact of a man made in God's image producing philosophy of the stamp of the *Times* is not a thing "to think of." Gaming is a very bad thing; but not at all because it is shocking that a man made in God's image should rake money off a table. The whole argument is only a resuscitation of the almost expired cant about men with immortal souls to save going to balls and playing cards. This was the ground on which, thirty or forty years ago, all novels were industriously kept out of most serious and decent families. They were a waste of time that could never be restored. They made young people light-minded and oblivious of their eternal interests. They filled them with discontent at the circumstances of actual life, and with disregard of gravity and veracity. It is a comfort to think that a great deal of this nonsense has ceased to be heard even in circles where it was once most rampant. Such a decay of cant is a good reason for hoping that the cant which still hangs over us will in due time be dispersed. The worst of it is that one kind of cant seems only to make room for another. We get rid of theological cant, and then we get the cant of the earnest school. People used to abuse novels because they had souls to save. Now they abuse them because novels do not contain "facts." For this very reason, that they are a relief from facts, sensible men and women find good stories a most wholesome mental refreshment. And besides this, they furnish the best material that can be got for those who like to reflect on life and its problems. The experience of an individual is almost always too confined to suffice for this purpose. The artificial cases of the novelist form a fair substitute.

THE GREAT FIRE in Constantinople is thus described in the *Levant Herald* of September 6: "Shortly before midnight last night, one of the most destructive fires which have devastated the capital for thirty years broke out on the Stamboul side of the Horn in a house behind Baktché-capoussi, and speedily extended to the adjoining buildings. Fanned by a brisk northeast wind, the flames rapidly spread on either side, and in the line of the wind up the face of the hill towards the Porte. As nearly the whole of this part of the city is wood-built, the fire spread in volume and intensity like the flame amongst spirits, engulfing house after house and mosque after mosque, till whole acres of buildings were ablaze at one time. In less than an hour from the first outbreak of the calamity the fiery tide had rolled up the entire face of the hill, till the waves of flame reached and broke in their lurid spray against the high wall which buttresses the parterre in front of the Porte. The total destruction of the latter seemed inevitable, when a slight change in the direction of the wind carried the fiery torrent round past the northern flank of the building, skirting it so closely that the houses immediately outside the gate of the official pile were all destroyed. Thence the conflagration rolled on to Ziloughou, Taouk-baza, Fazli Pacha, and Demircapou, sweeping houses, fountains, mosques, and every destructible thing before it. Nearly all the ministers and high military and police authorities hurried to the scene of the disaster as the night wore on, but all the efforts to stem the blazing tide were vain. The feeble engines, though hundreds in number, and worked by a whole army of *tolumbajees*, might as well have played upon the crater of Etna, even had they been well supplied with water, which was nearly altogether wanting. House after house was levelled in advance of the destroyer, to stay its progress by cutting off material to feed on; but as the flames successively reached the gaps thus formed, they licked up the *debris* and rolled on as if never a timber had been removed. Whilst we write (at 7 a.m.) the fire still rages, having, through another change in the wind, turned down the broad slope behind the Porte, and reached the northern side of the Hippodrome. A rough estimate of the destruction already accomplished states the loss at about 1,500 houses and eight or ten mosques; but this can be only a guess. The extent of the calamity can only be even approximately ascertained when the fire shall have burned itself out. Happily, the police report that as yet the disaster has not been aggravated by loss of life."

THE FRENCH MOTHER.—There are seldom more than two children in a *menage*, three at the utmost, whatever the reason may be, and these children are commonly idolized both by father and mother, and the children in return have an actual *culte* for "ma mère." Of the father one hears less; but the words "ma mère," pronounced with a certain intonation, in the pulpit or on the stage, never fail to set handkerchiefs in requisition in all directions. I remember an amusing instance, in a melodrama by Dumas père, in which a certain notorious bandit was boasting of his high and mighty deeds, and was interrupted by a friend with the gross remark, "After all, you are nothing but a robber." "Stay, my friend," he replied, "I have a mother." Profound sensation in the audience. Every ear is pricked eagerly. The bandit resumes, "Once in every month, on the first day of the month, I leave my eagle eyrie; I descend into the lowly plain. Crossing it with hasty and indignant steps, I enter the city of Valencia. There I enter a lofty mansion in the dead of night. I mount the marble stairs. I push a heavy oaken door—a chamber lies before me; in that chamber a couch; on that couch a woman, a venerable woman! I approach that sleeping saint. But does she sleep? I impress a kiss that kiss! Now dare to say I am a robber!" Tremendous explosion of applause and universal weeping.—*Fortnightly Review.*

WHAT DO WE KNOW OF SHAKESPEARE?*

From the Athenæum.

THE life of Shakespeare is still the puzzle, the disgrace, and the despair of critical art. Although it is beyond question the greatest of all literary subjects, nothing has been made of it better than an antiquary's jest. Genius, prudence, labor, hospitality, success—noble virtues, noble services—are stamped upon that story, like figures on a coin. But the story itself appears to lack the ordinary marks of actual truth. It is a history without details. The tale may be quite true, and the moral beauty of it may represent material facts, but we have no evidence to convince the eye and ear. The large life of the Poet,

—Spirits are not finely touched
But to fine issues—

clings to the actual world of dates by such slender threads that we can barely seize it as a part of the wide province of prosaic fact. Shakespeare is the highest name in the highest of all arts; higher than that of Homer, that of Dante; and of the selectest and supremest band of poets, he is also the youngest born. Yet we have nearly everything still to learn about him. It is true he lived in a great city, in the neighborhood of a busy Court, in the midst of taverns and theatres, and among a nation of newsmongers and letter-writers; but when we come to these idlers and gossips, who loved to tell each other of "some new thing," and bid them speak what they know of this player, their faces are all but blank. They have nothing to say. Player? One William Shakespeare? Yes; no more, no less; the author of "Hamlet," "Othello," and "Measure for Measure." Certainly; he was a man who wrote plays; those and some others; also poems and sonnets. But beyond these general words the oracles are dumb. Dates, names, incidents, stories, conversations, everything entering into the realities of a man's life, must be sought elsewhere by those who want them; sought, it may be feared, for ever, evermore in vain.

Are we sure of a single fact in what is called Shakespeare's life? Sir William Penn was said to be a suppressed character in English history. Is William Shakespeare another? A modern critic of the destructive school would reject as fable the whole bases of the poet's life. If the subject came in their way, Strauss and Renan, perhaps Milman and Colenso, would feel no compunction in stigmatizing Shakespeare as "unhistorical." And critics of a safer school of thought would see that in doing so they would be acting in good faith according to their principles and the measure of their light. Clouds and mists surround the poet as a man so closely that of all the theories of his life, the least unintelligible theory would perhaps be one assuming that he never lived at all.

Of course there would be difficulties in the way of a theory making Shakespeare an illusion of the mind—a convenient invention—a masculine form of Betsy Prigg's invisible friend. Every theory has its weak points. It certainly might be urged in favor of Shakespeare having lived and written books, that the books remain—a thin quarto of sonnets, other thin quartos of poems, "Lucrece" and "Venus and Adonis," a thick folio of plays; that sundry portraits of the man exist in National Portrait Galleries and elsewhere; that the house in which he was born is known. All these things are a part of the case, and must be taken into account by those who would argue against an actual Shakespeare in the flesh. To a certain extent, they tell against the theory of non-existence; but then it is a question whether they tell for much. Look at them sternly, and see if they will not begin to melt away under your ardent gaze. Even those who stand to the idea that a poet who bore the name of Shakespeare lived in the flesh—wrote plays and poems—trod on the stage—owned shares in a theatre—made a little fortune by his pen—and died in Stratford-on-Avon—as the common story, told in a thousand books, asserts, will admit that this old idea of the Poet's life is based on all sorts of assumptions, contradictions, and absurdities. Which of the facts put forth in the books have ever been proved? How do you know that Shakespeare wrote plays? You produce the copies; quarto, folio; "Hamlet," "Othello," and their bright compeers. Very good. But where is your evidence that Shakespeare wrote those plays? Where are the originals in Shakespeare's hand? You allow that none of them are to be found. Why are they not to be found? Shakespeare is not an ancient. Writings of his time abound in our public libraries. Spenser's manuscripts exist. Jonson's manuscripts exist. Bacon's manuscripts exist. Raleigh's manuscripts exist. Why of this great circle of contemporary authors should Shakespeare (if he really lived and wrote), and Shakespeare only, have left no originals to prove his right? You say the plays must have been burnt in the fire which destroyed the Globe Theatre. It is a common, an unhappy leap in the dark. How do you know that Shakespeare's manuscripts were kept in the Globe Theatre? Is it likely? Between the early plays and the later there was, according to the usual story, an interval of about thirty years. Some were written in London, some in Stratford. Some were produced at the Globe, some at Blackfriars, some at Court. Why should they all be kept in the Globe Theatre? Blackfriars was the chief establishment, and there, if anywhere in theatrical custody, the manuscripts should have been kept. But more. If a fire at the Globe were allowed, for the sake of argument, to have furnished a possible explanation for the disappearance of all the MS. Shakespeare plays, such an agency could only account for the plays. Where are the sonnets? Where is "Lucrece?" Where is "Venus and Adonis?" Still more, where are the private letters, the personal accounts, the noted and inscribed books belonging to this great reader and writer? Did they all perish in the Globe fire? This query would be pressed by a Strauss with relentless logic. A man's private letters are not easily destroyed. They are sent to many persons. They lie up in country houses, and are often preserved with religious care. Hundreds of Bacon's, Raleigh's, Cecil's letters—not a few of Donne's and Jonson's—are preserved. Yet not one scrap of ordinary writing, known to be Shakespeare's, has ever yet turned up. What is the meaning of this strange circumstance?

You say there are portraits: and you argue that a man who sits for his portrait must be a living man. The portraits answer for Shakespeare; but who will venture to say a word for the portraits? There is the rub. We know nothing whatever about these pretended portraits. We do not know that Shakespeare ever sat to a painter. We have no record of any artist ever painting him either with or without his consent. No contemporary ever mentioned a painting of him, good or bad. Moreover, the pretended portraits are each unlike the other; and all are unlike Droeshout's engraving and Johnson's bust. The Chandos picture is of a different man from the birthplace picture; and neither work has a pedigree worth a straw. What, then, a critic of the destructive school might urge, is the value of an argument drawn from the existence of a dozen spurious portraits? No more than a Wardour Street ancestry for a grocer suddenly grown rich on sand.

But, says the fond believer in tradition, there is the house in which he was born; house in Henley Street, Stratford; once a butcher's shop, then a crumbling cottage, now a sacred shrine; restored, enlarged; made into a library, a museum, a picture gallery; surrounded by a pretty garden in which Shakespeare plants and flowers are taught to bloom. But alack! the house is only part of the general legend. Instead of the house answering for the fable, the fable is obliged to answer for the house. Shakespeare may have been born in Henley Street; but we do not know that he was so. It is probable, and some people believe it. But no Court could receive, in a case where 5*s.* depended on the evidence, such probabilities as can be urged in behalf of the idea.

In truth, without going the length which a destructive critic might feel himself free to go, we must admit that very little of the common kind is known of our greatest writer. We are uncertain of his name. We find it in the forms of Chacksper and Shaxpur, and with twenty other variations, including Saxpere and Shagspere. Critics cannot agree even now upon a common way of spelling Shakespeare's name; Malone, Knight, and Collier having each his favorite delusion on the subject. We only know beyond doubt that the poet spelt his name one way in his books and another way in his will. We are uncertain as to when he was born and where he was born. We infer that he was born on the 23d of April, 1564, in Henley Street; but we only infer the first from the circumstance of his being christened on the 26th of April, and the second from the fact of his father being then the owner of a house in Henley Street. Books have been written to show that he was not born on April 23. As regards the house, our only particle of evidence tells against the received idea. Shakespeare mentions it in his will; and he does not describe it as his birthplace. We are uncertain about his childhood and his youth,—where he went to school, what he learned, to what business he was put, why he left Warwickshire, and when he came to London. That he wrote poems and plays is matter of safer knowledge; though critics like Mr. Smith and Miss Bacon have not been slow in asserting that the poems and plays which go under his name were really written by Bacon and Raleigh, with a philosophical and revolutionary purpose. Beyond the facts of his being in London for some years, and producing plays and poems, scarcely anything is known with clearness. He wrote sonnets, which are the profoundest mystery in all literature. He retired from London to Stratford; but we are ignorant why, and when this change in his life took place. We see nothing of his married life, and we have only two or three lying stories about the companions of his social hours. The origin of the common tale of Raleigh founding the Mermaid Club, of which Shakespeare is said to have been a member, has not been traced. Is it older than Gifford? Nothing is known as to the cause of his death. His will makes no mention of books, papers, letters, manuscripts, or copyrights; a fact of the utmost singularity on the part of such a writer in such an age.

All these mysteries make us look upon the life of Shakespeare as the disgrace of our critical art. And now we have in Mr. White a new, a well-prepared, and an unprofitable investigator of the common facts. Mr. White adds nothing to our scanty knowledge, and he overlooks some of the little that was previously made known.

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We do not care to follow Mr. White into the commonplaces of his volume. As a rule he believes in the old stories; even in Davenant's absurd tale of the thousand pounds, and in Gifford's apparent invention of the Mermaid Club. Prove to us, Mr. White, that Raleigh founded the Mermaid Club, that the wits attended it under his presidency, and you will have made a real contribution to our knowledge of Shakespeare's time, even if you fail to show that our Poet was a member of that Club.

* Memoirs of the Life of William Shakespeare, with an Essay toward the Expression of his Genius, and an Account of the Rise and Progress of the English Drama. By Richard Grant White.

IMPERIAL HISTORY.

From the Westminster Review.

ON the whole it cannot be said that the Emperor discloses in this book any capacity for historical generalization or any power of picturesque narrative. Even his flatterers can scarcely suppose that he has added anything to the researches of Niebuhr and Mommsen. His sketch of the six centuries from the foundation of the city to the death of Sulla, besides being little relevant to the subject, is flat and uninteresting in an extraordinary degree. It contains an array of names, dates, and statistics, in which history and romance are indistinguished and indistinguishable. There is not the slightest attempt to discriminate between the various authorities, or to measure the credit which should be given to each. Facts borrowed from the ballad poetry of Rome, and facts revealed by an eye-witness—what Livy says of the kings, and what Cicero says of the Catiline conspiracy—are appealed to with equal confidence. Dionysius, Appian, Polybius, Florus, Eutropius, Suetonius, are scattered about the notes in admirable confusion. The Emperor does not forget to mention, on the authority of the last writer, that Cæsar owned an extraordinary horse whose hoofs resembled a human hand. "Cæsar seul avait pu dompter cet étrange animal, dont la docilité, disait-on, lui présageait l'empire du monde."—p. 886. The greatest part of the book is made up of matters which have no relation whatever to Cæsar or to his times. Horace's laugh against the cyclic writer who began his history of the Trojan war with the birth of Castor and Pollux may be turned against the imperial historian with perfect justice. Here and there are scattered some of those pompous generalities which second-rate French writers especially delight in—thoughts of the "L'empire c'est la paix" school—the moral of Roman history condensed into a few sententious apophthegms, and like nothing so much as the remarks which Richard makes at the end of a chapter in Mrs. Markham's history. Judging the work merely by the appearance which it presents to the eye, it might be a very carefully written and learned memoir. The notes are tolerably full, and they contain plenty of references, quotations, and so forth. Their quality, however, is scarcely equal to their quantity. The translations are especially unfortunate. Readers of Cicero do not like to see the well-known "letters to his friends" (epistolæ ad familiares) invariably quoted as "familiar letters," and everybody would feel it to be harsh to translate "mille" by "million," and make twenty-two million sesterces out of twenty-two thousand. The more the book is read, the more convinced the reader becomes that the air of research and critical accuracy which is thrown over it, is merely assumed. Sometimes the references do not support the text—and frequently they have little to do with it. Many of the notes have either been added at hazard or have got misplaced. We read that Cæsar passed several valuable laws, and especially some which subjected to the most rigorous restrictions the contributions in kind which were to be furnished by the provinces to the proconsuls. Any information respecting the Julian laws being of interest, we proceed to examine the passages referred to; not one of them says anything about restraining the contributions in kind; the first shows that contributions of corn were not restrained, but forbidden; the others show that certain contributions were permitted by the law in question. During Cæsar's first consulate we are told that he caused a number of laws to be passed, the greater part of which have not been handed down to us, although we possess precious fragments of the most important of them. The only one which is cited in the text as an example is the Julian law regulating the priesthood, a precious fragment of which is quoted and mistranslated in a note. The authority given for the existence of the law in question is a passage from one of Cicero's letters to Brutus. That is, in truth, the only authority which could have been given, for the law is nowhere else mentioned. But every one who makes it his business to know anything at all of such matters knows perfectly well that the authenticity of these letters of Cicero's is a matter of dispute among scholars, and that one of the grounds on which the letter in question is thought to be spurious is precisely the very reference made in it to this unknown and unheard of *lex Julia de sacerdotiis*. It makes little difference in our estimate of Cæsar's character whether he did or did not carry the law referred to, but it is certainly bold for a writer to infer the existence of a fact on the sole authority of a document which is supposed to be spurious because it contains a reference to that fact.

What the Germans, Italians, Russians, Swedes, and Hungarians—all the nations and languages to which the imperial proclamation has gone forth—will think of this book remains to be seen. We hope they will have a better opportunity of judging it than Messrs. Cassell, Petter, and Galpin have afforded to us. For the form in which it is presented to the British public is not attractive. We will not venture to criticise the Emperor's French. It is formed on the model of Reuter's telegraphic dispatches, and is, no doubt, everything that can be wished. But of the English version we can pronounce with some confidence that is the very worst we have seen and about the worst we can think of.

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In reality it matters little how the book is translated. The worse the better, for it is not one of those which it will do anyone good to read. There are many reasons why the Emperor Napoleon should have produced a very indifferent work. We have already observed that he does not possess the preliminary requisites for his task. He is no scholar; he is unacquainted with the mode of life and habit of thought of the ancient world, and his literary antecedents are not calculated to give dignity to history. But even had he possessed the qualifications in which he is conspicuously deficient—intellectual ability, familiarity with the Latin writers, and critical and narrative powers—he would have failed, as Polybius has failed, in giving a satisfactory narrative of the times he has undertaken to describe. There are moral problems in history which it is not given to every Emperor to understand. A man who is either unable to perceive or unwilling to accept the truth which underlies events has a disqualification which no mere learning can remove. He may see, as a Napoleon sees, the outside of things; he may write ingenious essays and throw light on isolated facts, but he can never become an historian. The defect of intention and scope is seen in every page of Cæsar's life. It is written with the vulgarest of all possible motives, that of serving a private and political purpose. Seven centuries of the world's history are read backwards, in order to prove how necessary the Napoleons are to France. The whole history of that great revolution which wrested political power from the hands of the Roman aristocracy and founded a line of emperors on the ruins of the republic, is carefully misconceived, that it may appear to the world that there is an historical parallel between Julius Cæsar and the writer's uncle. Government by geniuses—a theory narrower, if possible, than government by heroes—is presented to us as the consummation of all things—not without a hint of where we are to look for the greatest living genius. We hope the French people will lay to heart the counsels of their imperial guide, philosopher, and friend. Let them be kind to his faults, remembering how contrary to good sense it is to ascribe to him the passions of mediocrity. Let them reconcile themselves to his government by the reflection that it is an insult to humanity to believe that it will submit to a domination which is not truly great and unquestionably useful. Poets will hereafter arise to glorify the Augustus of the French Julii. At present Augustus is compelled to blow his trumpet for himself. He has done so in this book, after sounding a long note of preparation, and calling upon all Europe to hear him.

THE THREE WISHES.

THE Eastern origin of this tale seems evident; had it been originally composed in a northern land, it is probable the king would have been represented as dethroned by means of bribes obtained from his own treasury. In an Eastern country the storyteller who invented such a just termination of his narrative, would, most likely, have experienced the fate intended for his hero, as a warning to others how they suggested such treasonable ideas. Herr Simrock, however, says it is a German tale; but it may have had its origin in the East for all that. Nothing is more difficult, indeed, than to trace a popular tale to its source; Cinderella, for example, belongs to nearly all nations; even among the Chinese, a people so different from all European nations, there is a popular story which reads almost exactly like it. Here is the tale of the Three Wishes.

There was once a wise emperor who made a law that to every stranger who came to his court a fried fish should be served. The servants were directed to take notice, if, when the stranger had eaten the fish to the bone on one side, he turned it over and began on the other side. If he did, he was to be immediately seized, and on the third day thereafter he was to be put to death. But, by a great stretch of imperial clemency, the culprit was permitted to utter one wish each day, which the Emperor pledged himself to grant, provided it was not to spare his life. Many had already perished in consequence of this edict, when, one day, a count and his young son presented themselves at court. The fish was served as usual, and when the count had removed the flesh from one side, he turned it over, and was about to commence on the other, when he was suddenly seized and thrown into prison, and was told of his approaching doom. Sorrow-stricken, the count's young son besought the Emperor to allow him to die in the room of his father; a favor which the monarch was pleased to accord him.

The count was accordingly released from prison, and his son was thrown into his cell in his stead. As soon as this had been done, the young man said to his jailors—"You know I have the right to make three demands before I die; go and tell the emperor to send me his daughter and a priest to marry us." The first demand was not much to the emperor's taste, nevertheless he felt bound to keep his word, and he therefore complied with the request, to which the princess had no kind of objection. This occurred in the times when kings kept their treasures in a cave, or in a tower set apart for the purpose, like the Emperor of Morocco in these days; and on the second day of his imprisonment the young man demanded the king's treasures. If the first one was a bold one, the second was no less so; still, an emperor's word is sacred, and having made the promise, he was forced to keep it; and the treasures of gold and silver were placed at the prisoner's disposal. On getting possession of them, he distributed them profusely among the courtiers, and soon he had made a host of friends by his liberality.

The emperor began now to feel exceedingly uncomfortable. Unable to sleep, he rose early on the third morning and went, with fear in his heart, to the prison to hear what the third wish was to be.

"Now," said he to his prisoner, "tell me what your third demand is, that it may be granted at once, and you may be hung out of hand, for I am tired of your demands."

"Sire," answered his prisoner, "I have but one more favor to request of your Majesty, which, when you have granted, I shall die content. It is merely that you will cause the eyes of those who saw my father turn the fish over to be put out."

"Very good," replied the emperor, "your demand is but natural, and springs from a good heart. Let the chamberlain be seized," he continued, turning to his guards.

"I, sire!" cried the chamberlain; "I did not see anything—it was the steward."

"Let the steward be seized, then," said the king.

But the steward protested with tears in his eyes, that he had not witnessed anything of what had been reported, and said it was the butler. The butler declared that he had seen nothing of the matter, and that it must have been one of the valets. But they protested that they were utterly ignorant of what had been charged against the count; in short, it turned out that nobody could be found who had seen the count commit the offence, upon which the princess said:

"I appeal to you, my father, as to another Solomon. If nobody saw the offence committed, the count cannot be guilty, and my husband is innocent."

The emperor frowned, and forthwith the courtiers began to murmur; then he smiled, and immediately their visages became radiant.

"Let it be so," said his majesty; "let him live, though I have put many a man to death for a lighter offence than his. But if he is not hung, he is married. Justice has been done."

THE DAVENPORT BROTHERS.

THEIR EXPOSURE IN PARIS.

THE Paris correspondent of the London *Daily News* gives the following account of the exposure of the Davenport deception in Paris:

"The Davenport brothers have appeared for the first and probably the last time in Paris. They had taken the precaution to print upon the tickets (price twenty-five francs each) a notice that the spectators must implicitly obey the instructions of the interpreter. Notwithstanding the price charged, the room was filled, but already before the commencement of the performance there were symptoms that things would not pass so quietly as in the private abode of the adepts. Mr. Robin had the evening before given an exhibition very closely resembling the spiritual manifestations of which the *par fratrum* are the mediums, so that the audience was not only critical, but well up in the subject. Some delay occurred in commencing the performance; a meagre band of musicians endeavored in vain to fill it up with attempts at a valse, which the impatience of the public would not permit them to finish.

"At last a white cravatted, blue-coated, gilt-buttoned individual, with gloves (if not hands) irreproachably clean, appeared on the stage. He explained in somewhat dreamy language that the brothers made no pretensions to supernatural powers, that they were mere passive agents of spiritual manifestations, which they do not pretend to explain. They do not ask for faith; they address themselves to science, to which they present certain phenomena, facts which science and the press may discuss. The speech was a long one, the audience got tired, and called out for the 'experiments,' 'the two brothers,' and some wicked wag added, *Les Deux Sœurs*. They came forward at last, looking worn and rather frightened. The interpreter then invited two of the audience to come upon the stage to watch the operation.

"The two men who stepped forward were greeted with howls of 'Confrères!' but these changed to applause when they named themselves, M. H. de Pène, well-known for a celebrated duel, and editor of the *Gazette des Etrangers*, and the Vicomte Cluny. They inspected cords and cupboard, saw nothing suspicious, and the brothers were as securely as usual tied to their bench. The doors are closed, the unearthly hubbub of unmusical instruments commences; the spectators ask for light; the spirits by their interpreter object; the public is for a moment silent, and the brothers walk out of their box unbound. One of the gentlemen who tied them thinks the ropes produced are not the same as he had used, but the objection does not prevent a second manifestation. This time the brothers who had entered the box unbound are found solidly attached to the bench, but a spectator whose attention had been uninterruptedly fixed on the bench, jumps on the stage, puts his hand on the bench round which the cords are wound, *touches a spring, the bench bends in the middle, and the cords fall at the feet of the captives*, who themselves plumped down, not on their heads. The rush, the row, were terrific, but the appearance of the commissary of police, who announced that the money would be returned, succeeding in restoring quiet. The company, after examining the mysteries of the cupboard, retired, not sorry to find their money in their pockets, delighted at having detected the imposture, and glad to breathe some fresh air, for the heat had been stifling. Let us hope that this is the last we shall hear of this gross imposture. The believers in spiritualism will probably persist in their superstition, and even the case of the brothers may be less desperate than it would seem to unbiassed observers. Who knows that their discomfiture was not a trick of the spirits?"

A correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette* says:

"The 'brothers' began by taking their seats in the mysterious cupboard, which was examined by Count Cluny and M. Henri de Pène, after which M. Duchemin, an engineer, firmly tied the 'brothers' with the rope. The doors of the cupboard were then closed, the gas was extinguished, and the spectators waited patiently for the spiritual manifestations. Nothing, however, appeared, and the public began to hiss. At length the doors opened, and the 'brothers' were discovered unbound with the rope at their feet. Mr. Duchemin upon this took up the rope to examine it, and declared it was not the one he had used. This produced a perfect tumult among the spectators, which was increased by the manager announcing that the brothers would now proceed to tie themselves up. The stage was immediately invaded by the public; the brothers prudently disappeared, and the performance terminated by the appearance of some *sergents de ville*, who cleared the room. While this was going on, M. Robin exposed all the tricks of the brothers in his *salle* on the Boulevard, and enlivened his demonstration with numerous witty allusions, which were evidently much relished by his audience."

THE WIDOW OF MOORE.—The grave has now closed over the last of a poet's household. The widow of Moore rests by her husband's side. The voice of song had long been silenced in the little bower at Sloperton, where she who once listened lived on the memories of the old sweet echoes:

—In future hours, some bard will say
Of her who heard and him who sang the lay,
They are gone! They both are gone!

The papers which have announced the death of Mrs. Moore, early last week, have agreed in misstating her age, which they set down at sixty-eight. As she married Moore in 1811, this would imply that she was only fourteen when she married the bard, who was then in his thirty-third year! The difference between their ages was by no means so great. Another, and a graver mistake, is the repetition of the malignant assertion of "the Right Hon. John Wilson Croker," made by him almost before Moore